Workers, Oppressed Nations and People of the World,

UNITE!

POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE
Marxist Leninist Organizing Committee

Vol 3, No 2 *March 1977* **25¢**

SUPPORT THE ERA

Women's complete equality with men is their undeniable democratic right under capitalism, as well as under socialism and communism *Based on the Marxist-Leninist principle of the proletariat being the most democratic class, the ML OC supports the Equal Rights Amendment The ERA represents a genuine democratic reform for women under capitalism, legally giving them equal status with men*

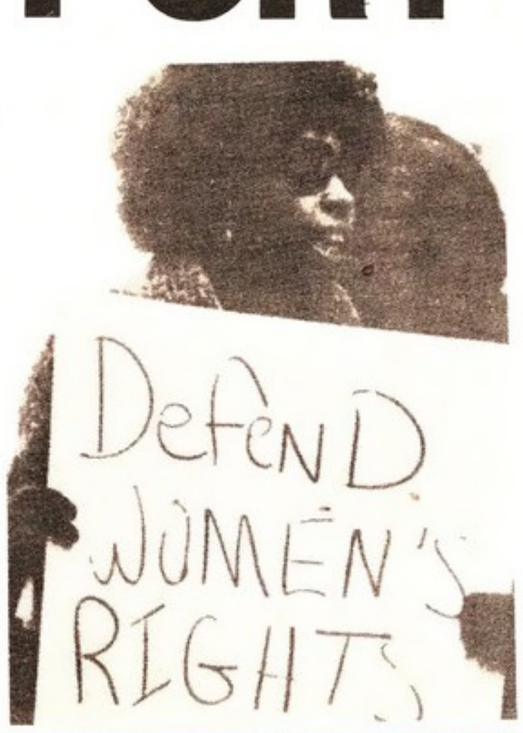
WHAT DOES THE ERA SAY AND DO?

The ERA is not a democratic right, complete and genuine equality is The ERA is a democratic reform Here is what the ERA says, and what it can do

Section I Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the U S or by any state on account of sex,

Section II The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of the articles,

Section III This amendment shall take effect two years after the day of ratification



The ERA only affects government actions and laws It only proclaims equality before the law

The ERA does not affect hiring, promotion, or any other employment practices in the "private sector", that is, in any non-government jobs

In some states, women do not have legal control over their own earnings, or husbands have exclusive control over common property, or a woman's legal place of residence is that of her husband, even if she lives elsewhere, preventing her from voting, running for office, going to state schools as a resident, or serving on juries in her own area The ERA would make all of these illegal

The ERA is capable of affecting discriminatory admissions policies by state schools, discriminatory sentencing of criminals on the basis of sex, although these have been taken care of, for the most part, by the 14th Amendment

The ERA would provide a legal basis for struggle against restrictive "protective" laws, and discriminatory laws concerning the family and the military

The ERA is a democratic reform, it provides reforms of the laws under capitalism to improve wome-

cont p 3

NO PEACE IN STEEL

Lloyd McBride's evident victory in February's election for International President of the United Steel Workers of America is being greeted with some relief on the part of the steel barons and the capitalist class as a whole McBride offers the capitalists "responsible leadership", "negotiation rather than confrontation" and industrial stability" In short, *class collaboration*

CAPITALISTS LOOK TO ENA AS "PACIFICATION" MODEL

The attention of the entire capitalist class and of the entire working-class movement has been focused on the McBride-Sadlowski contest, because the direction that the country's third largest union, and the largest industrial union in the AFL-CIO, takes will necessarily have a profound effect on the course of the class struggle in the U S over the next years Before the election, part of the bourgeois press was predicting that a victorious McBride could "assure peace" in steel "until at least 1980" through his support for the Experimental Negotiating Agreement The "success" of the ENA in steel could set a pattern for attempts to tame the working class in other industries

While Ed Sadlowski was not the "working-class radical" that the bourgeois press played him up to be, a Sadlowski victory could at least have called into question the continuation of the MacDorald/Abel policy of selling the steel workers's right to strike, and other weapons of the class struggle, in return for a temporary wage improvement

THE ENA IS AN UNEQUAL "PEACE"

The Sadlowski campaign did not pop up out of nowhere, but was one reflection of the need and demand of steelworkers for more democracy in the union and more maneuverability in relation to the capitalists And the two go together with genuine working-class democracy in the USW, the ENA could not exist The ENA ties steelworkers to a policy of "industrial peace" and under capitalism any "peace" in industry is bound to be an unequal peace

V I Lenin, one of the greatest leaders of the internitonal working class, pointed out

> "For it is the great significance of all crises that they make manifest what has been hidden, they cast aside all that is empty form, superficial and trivial, they sweep away the political litter and reveal the real causes of the class struggle that develops in reality "
> (Collected Works, Vol 24,p 213)

The deepening crisis of capitalism is revealing the bankruptcy of the class-collaborationist policies of the trade union bureaucracy to ever-wider sections of the working class The almost continuous chain of wildcats among the miners of the last year is just one of the more obvious signs of the rising consciousness of workers

Sadlowski's failure to defeat the Abel/McBride bureaucracy is neither evidence of any "inner strength" of that bureaucracy, nor is it evidence on the "backwardness" of steelworkers Rather, Sadlowski's Fight Back Organization is one of those "superficial forms" that has been swept aside in the real class struggle, because it served only Sadlowski and not the working class

cont p 4

CALHOUNE TRIAL OPENS

LATE NEWS Mississippi- As UNITE' goes to press, the trial of Terry Barr for the murder of sixteen year old James Edward Calhoune, found dead in the Sunflower River, has begun in Indianola Barr, white, is pleading not guilty by reason of insanity

The jury was selected on the first day of the trial, all but two Black jurors were excluded on the grounds that they could not read or write, or were in poor health - a frequent means to deny poor Blacks and Whites their democratic rights in the oppressed Black Nation

To discourage mounting attention to the trial, the Judge illegally only allowed eight observors in the trial In addition, all entering were frisked, and passes were required Said one witness, "it seems that they have every Deputy Sheriff in Mississippi here " While the murder of Blacks is common in the Mississippi Delta and throughout the opressed Black Nation, such "precuations" in rural Indianola are not

These measures were taken to try and intimidate over 120 Blacks who arrived by bus from all over the area to lend support to the Calhoune family Unable to enter the trial, they sat all day in the corridors and on the courthouse steps Support for the Calhoune family is mounting A full report on the trial will appear in the next UNITE'

PARTY PROGRAM p.8-9 **WOMEN IN STEEL p.5**
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EDITORIALS

CELEBRATE INTERNATIONAL WORKING WOMEN'S DAY!

Workers the worldwide mark March 8th as International Women's Day In the U S , there is a long militant tradition of working clas as women fighting for both the democratic and socialist demands of the working class

March 8th,1857, thousands of New York garment workers marched throught the streets against the miserable wages and savage working conditions This marks the birth of International Women's Day Today-- 110 years later, women continue to suffer capitalist exploitation and oppression Ever since the dawn of class society, women have heroically fought against exploitation and oppression, and today in the U S , working class women are becoming a mighty revolutionary force in the overall struggle against capitalism and for socialism

Working class women, as one half of the revolutionary forces against the bourgeoisie, fight both for the overall demands of the working class, and for those special demands which relate to women's special oppression as a domestic slave



We fight both against the reformists who deny women their just equality with men, and against the revisionists who deny the special oppression of women as a class question

In all corners of the country, working women and men are fighting for jobs, childcare, pregnancy benefits and other demands These special demands of women must be resolutely supported

IMPLEMENT THE SHANGHAI ACCORDS!

It has been five years since Richard Nixon signed the Shanghai Accords On February 28,1972 after decades of pursuing its counter-revolutionary policy of trying to isolate and destroy the Peoples' Republic of China, U S imperialism was forced to travel to China to meet with Comrade Mao Tsetung and Comrade Chou Enlai. In the Accords the U S pledged to work for normal diplomatic relations with the PRC as the sole legal government of China, as well as the withdrawal of military forces from Taiwan

The U S Government has failed to implement this communique Militant workers and all progressive people must step up the pressure on the U S Government for the full recognition of the PRC and the immediate withdrawal of all U S military forces from Taiwan

IMPLEMENT THE SHANGHAI ACCORDS'

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA NOW'

VICTORY FOR THE ALBANIANS

On January 11, Albania celebrated the 31st anniversary of the proclamation of its People's Republic Reflecting the great success of the Albanian people's struggle for socialist construction and against revisionism, the name of the country has been changed to THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

To guide their future development, the Albanian people have drawn up a new constitution The Constitution states that Albania is the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat The Party of Labor of Albania, the vanguard party of the Albanian working class is recognised as the sole political and leading force in the Socialist Republic and in Albanian society

Through the dictatorship of the proletariat and the true democracy of the masses, Albanian citizens are guaranteed equality before the law, the right to elect and be elected, the right to work and rest from work, provision for old age and illness etc

The new constitution also resolutely upholds the Marxist- Leninist principle of the right of self determination of a people and its complete exercise of national sovereignty This, in turn, means that no one has the "right" to ever sign or accept in the name of the Albanian people, the capitulation or occupation of the country The new constitution prohibits foreign military bases or foreign troops in the territory of the Albanian Socialist Republic On the economic front, it also prohibits the granting of any concessions or the formation of any joint companies with bourgeois and revisionist capitalist monopolies

The strengths of the new constitution, like the strengths of the Albanian Party of Labor, comes from its unswerving devotion to fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles

"We march against the imperialist-revisionist stream Our stream is the revolution and the overthrow of the capitalist order, which will be replaced by socialism and communism, the classless society This society is the future of mankind, which will be built through class struggles, blood and sacrifices And it will be built' Imperialism and social-imperialism are in decay Socialism will triumph, the world and mankind will save themselves from these plagues "
(COMRADE ENVER HOXHA ON THE DRAFT OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA)

Available From the MLOC
A NEW VICTORY OF THE POLICY OF THE PARTY OF ALBANIA IN THE UPLIFT OF THE GENERAL WELL-BEING OF THE PEOPLE 25¢
(Tirana, 1976)

TO OUR READERS

The development of a real ideological and political center in the working class movement requires a professional party press Our struggle is to build a daily communist newspaper which becomes the ideological, political and practical leader of the working class and its allies

The production and distribution of UNITE' must be a question taken up by the masses, along with criticism of UNITE'

In the past, UNITE' has contained many errors criticized by both cadre of the organization and readers In response, there have been many changes in UNITE' These have been widely welcomed and are continuing

However, on numerous occasions articles have been promised, pamphlets promised, which were not delivered Examples would include articles on Busing, and the Chicano National Question The COMMUNIST LINE on the trade union question is long overdue, as is ALL FOR ONE, ONE FOR ALL, a pamphlet on Albania UNITE' must be dependable and not issue promises which are not fulfilled This undermines the confidence of the masses in UNITE'

Second, have been the consistent belittling of certain kinds of errors, such as misprints, spelling errors, lack of documentation, etc The last issue of UNITE' contained many such errors We pledge to strive for the best quality press possible, and efforts are being made to overcome this unprofessional approach to our press

These errors have definite ideological sources, and are being discussed and examined within the UNITE' staff As the distribution of UNITE' increases, we welcome comments and criticisms about all aspects of UNITE' and how it can be improved

THE CORRECTNESS OF THE PARTY PRESS IS VITAL

BUILD UNITE' INTO A WEAPON OF CLASS STRUGGLE



SUBSCRIBE!

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THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

OF THE

Marxist Leninist Organizing Committee

CAN BE REACHED

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cont from p 1

n's status and strives for equality with men No law, in and of itself, alters the material basis of women's exploitation and oppression However, the proletariat utilizes all forms of struggle, including legality The ERA is a weapon, if it is taken up by the proletariat and correctly used in its struggle against the bourgeoisie Then it will serve to alter the material basis of women's exploitation and oppression

WHY THE PROLETARIAT MUST STRUGGLE FOR COMPLETE DEMOCRACY

The working class must support every democratic movement in its struggle for socialism However, the democratic demands of the proletariat require the economic emancipation of the majority of the working class to be completed That is how the struggle for democratic rights is linked to socialist revolution

In the struggle for economic emancipation, the interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie come into contradiction Complete and genuine equality and freedom are economically impossible under capitalism, so that whatever political or legal democracy may exist, in fact, the capitalist system itself prevents its fulfillment

Democracy under capitalism is always one-sided, always incomplete for the masses, because of the very nature of private property ownership While socialist democracy means democracy for the majority -- for the working people, bourgeois democracy necessarily means privilege -- democracy for the exploiters, the capitalists, the rich

But the working class must struggle for the most complete democracy In the short term, the struggle for democracy prepares the proletariat for socialism It teaches the working class the nature and method of class warfare by showing that what is preventing the resolution of our problems is not lack of rights, but capitalism In the long term, complete democracy is necessary for the withering away of the state, and the successful transition from socialism to communism

The ERA, while it is not a democratic right in itself, provides a legal basis for the improved status of the working class Potentially, the ERA is capable of improving the fighting ability of the class by lifting prohibitive laws on hiring and education, and by increasing women's participation in politics and the military All of these, while they can remain "harmless" and acceptable under capitalism, can be turned effectively to the use of the proletariat in its struggle against capitalism

Lenin, on the struggle for democratic rights, says

> "*All* 'democracy' consists in the proclamation and realization of 'rights' which under capitalism are realizable only to a very small degree and only relatively But without the proclamation of these rights, without a struggle to introduce them now, immediately, without training the masses in the spirit of this struggle, socialism is impossible " ("A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism", CW, Vol 23, p 74)

WHAT ABOUT PROTECTIVE LEGISLATION?

One of the main arguments against the ERA by its opponents is that it will get rid of protective laws that working class women have struggled tooth and nail to get. The ERA *can* potentially wipe out such laws.

However, the ERA is not fundamentally responsible for the loss of protective laws capitalism is

We should first make a distinction between laws which are restrictive and laws which are protective, and also try to evaluate whether those protective laws really serve the proletariat

In the 19th century, reformers sought to win protective laws for both men and women However, the U S Supreme Court ruled that such laws would restrict working men from being able to sell their labor The reformers managed to get laws passed concerning working women and children The capitalists used these laws to keep women out of jobs, and maintained the differences in wages, benefits, and working conditions over the years The protective laws gave the bourgeoisie a weapon to drive down the conditions of the whole working class Clearly this kind of "protection" has prevented women from getting jobs

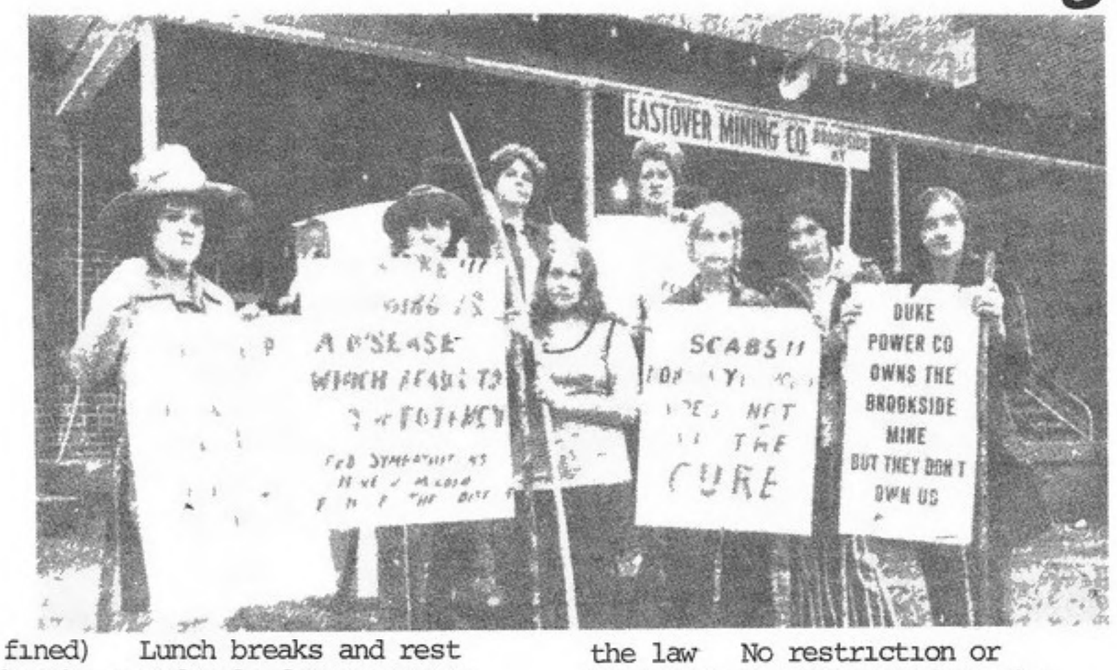
The Civil Rights Act, passed in 1964, contained a provision prohibiting discrimination in hiring on the basis of sex (Title VII) In 1969, the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) was set up, and declared most protective laws in violation of Title VII By 1972, one-third of the states had already repealed their protective laws

Certainly it was correct to support the Civil Rights Act in 1964, and it is correct to support the ERA today It is not the democratic desires and goals of the masses of people in struggling for their rights that must be criticized, but the maneuvers of the bourgeoisie to turn those rights against the working class

Protective legislation, just like everything else under capitalism, is subject to interpretation, implementation, and manipulation by the bourgeoisie For example, pregnancy is excluded from state employment disability insurance coverage, not on the basis of sex, but on the type of disability that it is Apparently the bourgeoisie has not noticed that only one sex becomes pregnant!

The ERA *can* and *should* be interpreted to *extend* such protections to *all* workers, men and women However, the bourgeoisie has attempted to use this to take away all genuine protective laws, on the basis that they affect only one sex (women) and to be fair, they must be eliminated, rather than extended

This is exactly what happened in Washington state which has a state constitutional amendment of the ERA On the basis of the ERA in Washington, the state legislature ordered the Department of Labor and Industries to bring its regulations and laws into conformity with the ERA The Department of Labor and Industries then eliminated protective legislation on hours, etc , now providing a guaranteed 10-hour day except in emergencies (which are broadly defined) Lunch breaks and rest breaks are fairly discretionary as to when they will be given and need not be given when work is "intermittent"



In the face of this action, the Revolutionary Communist Party had a campaign opposing the ERA because it was "destroying the rights the working class had fought for" They also used this to argue that the ERA was a reform of the bourgeoisie, a product of the bourgeois feminist movement and a weapon against the working class This position mistakes the actions of the bourgeoisie in distorting and twisting the ERA, for the ERA itself Rather than oppose the bourgeoisie's actions, the Revolutionary Communist Party opposed the ERA

Regardless of how democratic our laws may appear under capitalism, the bourgeoisie will certainly turn them to their own advantage or disregard them altogether if they are pressed to do so The individual capitalist will undoubtedly use the ERA to force the lowest, equally bad working conditions on its workers. And the bourgeoisie as a whole will not observe the laws of its existing constitution when the general crisis of capitalism pushes them to fascism

HOW DO WE SUPPORT THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT?

We support the ERA because women's equality is their undeniable right both today, under capitalism, and after the seizure of state power The programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, drafted in 1917, upheld,

> " universal, equal, and direct suffrage for all citizens " and "equal rights for all citizens irrespective of sex, creed, race, or nationality " ("Materials Relating to the Revision of the Party Programme", CW, Vol 24, p 472)

The new Draft Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania declares that

> "All citizens are equal before the law No restriction or privilege is recognized on the rights and duties of citizens on account of sex, race, nationality, education, social position, and material situation " (DRAFT-CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA, Tirana, 1976)

Politically, the ERA is not qualitatively different from these declarations of equality However, socialism provides what capitalism cannot the material basis for the realization of equality

Therefore, the main focus of our struggle must be to provide the material basis for women's actual, genuine equality, and *not* legal equality -- equality on paper Marxism teaches us that the two phases of women's emancipation are her participation in production, and her freedom from capitalist exploitation This means that we do not stop at applying constitutional equality to the unequal situation of men and women,but must then attack the root of that inequality, women's position as a domestic slave This should be the main focus of our work among working women On the question of the tasks of the women's movement, Lenin says,

> "It is the chief task of the working women's movement to fight for economic and social equality, and not only formal equality, for women The chief thing is to get women to take part in socially productive labor, to liberate them from 'domestic slavery', to free them from their stupefying and humiliating subjugation to the eternal drudgery of the kitchen and the nursery " ("International Working Women's Day", CW, Vol 30, p 409)

We must focus our support on campaigns for jobs, child-care, job-training, maternity benefits, better wages and working conditions, on mobilizing the masses of working class women and on recapturing the trade unions to take up the struggle for these demands, and to unionize the industries, offices, and other employers of women that are unorganized.

The ERA can serve this struggle primarily by pointing out to the masses of working women that *legal* equality cannot wipe out their *economic* position as both domestic and wage slaves

> "The peculiar character of man's domination over woman in the modern family, and the necessity, as well as the manner, of establishing real social equality between the two, will be brought out into full relief only when both are completely equal before the law " (Engels, ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE, p. 73-74, COMMUNIST LINE #6, "Draft Theses on the Woman Question, p 3)

The fuller that democracy is, the clearer will be shown that women's inequality is due to capitalism and not due to their lack of rights



STRUGGLE FOR THE MASSES

cont from p 1

A CAMPAIGN OF POLITICANS, NOT CLASS STRUGGLE

To some, Sadlowski may have appeared "too radical", but to others he revealed himself as simply an opportunist trying to ride the wave of rank-and-file revolt

He claimed to be a "class-conscious rank-and-file militant", but for one who claimed such concern for the basic questions facing steelworkers and the whole working class, he rather readily allowed the reactionary forces to turn the campaign into a childish spat of "I'm-more-genuine-than-you" declarations, charges, and "exposes"



Even U S Steel was forced to enter the campaign in an unprecedented manner, chiding both candidates for the trivial nature of their debates, for fear that no one was going to come forward to defend the ENA, which the capitalists are so anxious to make work U S S 's intervention came at a time when Sadlowski's offensive was peaking within the union, and when the steel industry was on the defensive for its recent price-hikes U S S feared it might lose the ENA by default

UNHOLY ALLIANCE OF THE "LEFT"

Sadlowski's so-called "leftist" support was another one of those "revelations" brought about by the crisis The unity of the "Communist" Party, USA, the Revolutionary "Communist" Party, USA, the Socialist Workers Party, the dilitante "radicals" of the Jane Fonda stripe, the "limousine liberals" and other assorted revisionists (phony "communists") and reformists in giving their *unqualified* support to Sadlowski served to reveal the bourgeois ideology they all share Even in attacking the ENA, they all put forward the lie that the right to strike is the "ultimate weapon" of workers *All working-class experience shows that the right to strike is indispensible, but the strike is only one and not always the best, means of struggle for the working class*

Let workers observe and learn from this unholy alliance the real aims of revisionism and reformism safe management of the struggles of the workers within the framework of continued capitalist rule

MCBRIDE VICTORY A SETBACK

But let there be no mistake McBride's victory is a setback for the working class The longer the ENA is supported by the leadership of the USW, the further such programs for"industrial peace" are allowed to spread, the harder it will be for workers to defend their interests in the face of the capitalist crisis and the increasing fascist assault of the bourgeisie on the democratic rights of workers

A Sadlowski victory would have been in the interests of the workers - but only to the extent that steelworkers stepped up their pressure on Sadlowski and forced him to implement the democratic reforms within the USW (membership vote on contracts, local control over grievances, referendum vote on the ENA), to that extent would steelworkers be better off and stronger in relation to the capitalists At the same time, workers would have an opportunity to see "pure and simple" reformism expose itself in practice, and in that way the basis for a higher class consciousness among workers would have been laid

THERE CAN BE NO PEACE

But the continuance of openly bureacratic rule within the USW is only a temporary setback McBride cannot guarantee class peace for the capitalists, the capitalists cannot count on the everlasting submission of the working class to capitalist expolitation under the guardianship of trade-union bureaucrats The entire course of capitalist development, the permanent and deepening crisis of world capitalism, irreversibly pushes the working class into struggle

And as the struggle of the workers gives rise to more and more class-conscious workers, organized into a truly communist party of the working class, and as that party earns the confidence of ever wider sections of the class, then the working class will move step by step toward the inevitable show down between the classes which will end capitalist rule and establish the rule of the working class, to build socialism and lay the basis for classless soceity

WHAT NOW?

Now that the election is over, our tasks are not It is very important to correctly sum up the lessons of this election, both for the steelworkers and the working class as a whole Only on this basis can strategy and tactics in steel be determined

From the outset our task has been to develop the consciousness and rank and file organization of steelworkers This is particularly important in the large mills of the country, where the most advanced sections of the working class are located

The immediate focus of our work ahead must be the forthcomming contract negotiations, to concreteley analyze our just demands and launch a battle inside the union to gain our economic and political demands These must include the abolition of the ENA and the Consent Decree, rank and file ratification of contracts and other demands

In the course of fighting for these and other demands, special attention must be given to the building of multinational unity among steelworkers, and with the working class as a whole Steelworkers must actively support the repeal of the Bird Amendment, and other steps to support the struggle of workers and oppressed people all over the world

Soon, I W Able, who has sold out the interest of steelworkers for over a decade will be retiring At this time we must thoroughly expose the class collaborationist policy of Able and the TU bureaucrats as a whole

To carry on active agitation and propaganda in steel requires organization on many levels

Our task is to intensify the development of factory nuclei, and fractions in the heart of the large mills and shops Local union meetings must increasingly become an arena to expose and kick out the labor aristocrats and bureaucrats from our union

With the formation of a vanguard communist party in the near future, the working class as a whole, and steel workers in particular, will have a concrete program of struggle as a guide to action against the steel barrons, and their social props, the trade union bureaucrats and labor aristocracy This program must be translated into a particular program of struggle in steel

These last few months have provided many lessons to steel workers and the working class as a whole Both those that uncritically supported Sadlowski, and those that ignored the workers altogether by boycotting the election, are being exposed These are important steps in our protracted struggle to gain control of the trade unions and turn them into revolutionary fighting organizations against the capitalist class as a whole

The Struggle Against the LABOR ARISTOCRACY

THE OPPRESSION OF WOMEN

"...to emancipate women and make her the equal of men is and remains impossible so long as the woman is shut out from social productive labor and restricted to private domestic labor. The emancipation of women will only be possible when women can take part in production on a large, social scale, and domestic work no longer claims anything but an insignificant amount of her time. And only now that has become possible through modern large-scale industry, which does not merely permit the employment of female labor over a wide range, but positively demands it, while it also tends toward ending private domestic labor by changing it more and more into a public industry."

Fredrick Engels, THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE, International Publishers, 1973, p.221

"But while capitalism leads to the savage exploitation of women, at the same time, by drawing women into the process of production, it prepares the way for their emancipation."

WOMEN AND COMMUNISM, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1950 p.27

Women now make up 40% of the labor force in the U.S. and 25% of the trade union membership. This growth of women's participation in socialized production gives push to the demand for real equality for women. It also adds the strength, imaginations and fighting capacity of millions of women to the general struggle of the working class against the capitalist class.

But the entry of women into production only becomes a revolutionary force when the multi-national working class consciously fights for the equality of women and when women workers consciously fight for socialism. The capitalists fight the development of these struggles with the help of their paid agents, the traitors in our midst, the labor aristocracy Through the superprofits of imperialism, the capitalists have been able to bribe a small section of the working class. This section in the main comes from the skilled craft workers. This aristocracy has sold out the long range interests of the working class as a whole for the short term economic gains of the few. One of the consequences has been the maintenance of women in unequal positions in production, even in the industries and unions where they make up the majority.

Last fall in Seattle the trade union bureaucrats of Retail Clerks local #330--Pharmacists and Retail Drug Store Employees forced a settlement on its striking members which gave substantial gains to the male, craft worker,pharmacists, but failed to make any gains for the majority, women clerks, who had no guaranteed week and made 4 to 5 dollars less an hour than the pharmacists.

Another example is among the workers at the Chicago-based Hart, Schaffner and Marx clothing manufacturers There are about 2000 women sewing machine operators who make between 3 and 4 dollars an hour, while the male cutters make between 6 and 7 dollars an hour. All the workers belong to the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, whose clothing division is 85% women, but whose officers come from the male dominated craft sector of the workers.

The trade union bureaucrats, a part of the labor aristocracy have not taken up the struggle for women's equality in the labor movement. Even in the unions where women make up the majority they have been kept out of leadership positions and either recieve unequal wages for the same work or are confined to lower paying "women's jobs".

The domination of trade unions by the labor aristocracy, whose social base is in the skilled craft section, is the rule in the U.S. today. Within the labor movement they are the largest obstacle to the struggle for equality for women and to the overall struggle of the working class for socialism.

PIVOT OF OUR TACTICS in the Labor Movement

WOMEN IN STEEL

The first time I walked into the lunch room all talking stopped This continued for one solid week The silence was broken occasionally by someone asking why no one was talking There had, two years previously, been another women who ventured into the lunchroom and she did not return the next day There are countless examples of this kind of situation when a woman works at an almost exclusively male job, such as in the steel industry

The steel plant has three shops, a melt, forge and machine There are no women in the melt and forge and there are five women in the machine shop So out of 350 workers in this plant there are 5 women In the machine shop none of the women are machinists, one is an apprentice, 2 are specialists (which means they are trained to operate only one machine), 1 is a machinists' helper, and 1 is a sweeper

The first few weeks were clearly the most difficult This was due to the combination of being stared at constantly from all sides and at the same time having to prove my worth, to both the management and my co-workers This proved to be no small task Not only did I have to do the job, as a woman I had to do the job very well, because many of those staring eyes expected me to fail At times I found myself doing things no one else did in order to prove myself capable of the job, like carrying eighty pound sacks from one end of the shop to the other instead of using a hand truck, But no one told me until later'

As a helper my job consisted of shoveling chips out of the machines, sweeping, and assisting the machinists in their setups This consisted primarily of "chasing the hook" This means that I would hook the crane up to parts and then help the machinists set the part into the jaws on the machine or down on the milling table With each machinist I would have to go through the "capabilities test" Oftentimes even after they knew I could make the setup they would not let me, because another machinist might think badly of him for making me do the heavy work, even though I did it for them all As time went on, for the most part I became accepted as a worker, rather than an oddity and was able to go about my work as other workers

In assessing the situation we must look to the root of this kind of a problem Women in this society are oppressed as domestic slaves and, if they are wage workers, are also oppressed as wage slaves It is obviously to the benefit of the bourgeoisie to keep women as a reserve labor force to be used as needed During the periods of war, when most of the working class men are overseas fighting, women are called upon to fill many of the jobs in the plants They were the crane operators, machine operators, etc during the Second World War So it is clear that the reason that women are not in these jobs is not because they are incapable of learning them, too frail, or some other kind of lame excuse It is because under capitalism there are not enough jobs for all who need them and during the periods between war there is an ample supply of men to fill these jobs Thus, the bourgeoisie does not need women workers to work them As we again face the growing danger of war more and more women will be brought in

The bourgeoisie keeps women out of production in several ways The primary one is the almost total lack of childcare. When the bourgeoise has need of women workers as during times of war, childcare was provided, even though it still fell short of the actual need As it stands now, quality childcare is difficult if not impossible to find and expensive, eating away a goodly portion of a worker's wages Another obstacle to women entering production that is traditionally male is the lack of any kind of training programs It is not just chance that out of 150 machinists there is only one female apprentice And further, women sometimes stay away from this kind of work because of harassment, both from the company and her co-workers These are two different types of contradictions One, the one between the company and a woman worker, is an antagonistic one It is a contradiction with the enemy, the capitalist class The other is a non-antagonistic contradiction, one



among the people The men workers have little to gain by the oppression of women and have much to gain with the equality of women

CONTRADICTIONS WITH THE ENEMY, THE CAPITALIST CLASS

Under capitalism, the primary responsibility of working class women is to maintain and reproduce the current and future generations of workers It is a service for the bourgeoisie, yet it is performed privately in individual homes Because of this household responsibility, women have historically had an inconsistant relation to production This makes them an instrumental part of the reserve army of labor This reserve is called out at times when the bourgeoisie has a lack of its regular workers, such as at times of war This reserve army of labor serves so to depress the wages of the working class as a whole As clearly there are insufficient jobs for the number of people who need them, it serves to pit worker against worker in the competition to find work Thus there becomes the struggle between men and women workers when women try to enter areas of production that are traditionally male Today, as the burden of the increasing crisis of capitalism falls on the working class, it becomes more and more necessary for women to go to work outside the home *This is not in order to earn so-called "pin money" but rather to earn money necessary for the maintenance of the family* Also, there is an ever increasing number of single parent families headed by women However, this work outside the home does not exempt women from the responsibilities at home Most often, they are still expected to care for the children, prepare the meals and maintain the home

It is clear that although a few token women get hired on in heavy industry, the capitalists have no serious intentions of integrating women into these areas This is evidenced by the fact that there is a total lack of facilities in most plants for women

It is also clear that it is their intention to keep the women as isolated from the men as possible, promoting the idea that it is better if the women get along with the men but maintain some distance The fact that to get to the lunch room we either had to go through the men's locker room or around the outside of the plant, in itself tended to isolate the women workers from the men during the only free time at work

The situation of women in capitalist society, as domestic slaves and a reserve army of labor, results in women being held back in cultural, political and economic development It is clear that until women are allowed to engage in socialized production equality with men is impossible These areas of production will be opened to women through the struggle of women with the rest of the working class However, this cannot be accomplished under capitalism on any more of a basis than tokenism, it will only truly be accomplished under socialism For it is only in socialism that the economy is run in the interest of the whole of the working class

A CONTRADICTION AMONG THE PEOPLE

There are numerous examples of harassment of women on the job by her co-workers, ranging from sexual abuse to not allowing her to carry out her work because of patronizing attitudes In steel, or in similar types of jobs, a woman worker is even more aware of these types of attitudes due to the fact that she is in such a minority Women are clearly seen as an oddity in this situation Every once in a while a woman will tour the plant When this occurs, work comes to a halt, men fall out into the aisle and stare for a few minutes Or one time my job required me to put a cap on a long shaft This meant that I needed to swing a sledge hammer After a few swings I looked around to see a crowd had gathered to watch

What is the cause of this behavior? It is clearly not the normal behavior of these men It is the result of a capitalist mode of production, which seeks to make false divisions among the working class If women were more of a regular part of production, rather than an oddity that is totally out of place the moment she walks through the door, the men workers would not react in such a way

From certain backward workers there are constant sexual overtones to everything This is clearly a part of the decadent culture which promotes women as sexual objects Mistaken ideas and backward thinking is common in this situation, with comments such as "She is just here to prove a point","Some guy who really needed the job should have gotten it," or, "She got promoted by sleeping with the supervisor" This kind of attitude must be dealt with firmly and patiently, constantly explaining the position of women in this society, and why it is important for women to be involved in socialized production

The ever growing need for women to work can easily be understood by most male workers who are trying to support a family on one salary Most men whose wives work know the kind of wages that women normally work for and can certainly understand women wanting to make more A question that I was asked frequently was why a woman would work here It was readily understood when I explained that this was the first job that I had ever made more than $3 00 an hour, and in fact, this wage was double of any of my previous wages

All this should be connected to the responsibility that women shoulder in this society, that of maintaining the family and how this is the basis for their double oppression It is also extremely important to make very clear that these attitudes are not in the interest of the working class but actively aid the capitalist in their oppression of the proletariat

My most common error on this job was liberalism, manifesting itself in letting things slide rather than taking them up when there was the opportunity to do so The reasons for this were (1) being one of five women in the plant made everything I said or did one of the hot items on the agenda for discussion This made me be overly cautious And (2) in general being accepted as another worker was a difficult task, and rather than have some workers not like me for my political views, I held them back

The lesson is obvious The working class movement has no room for this kind of liberalism Our task is not to build friendships based on politeness, but to build a revolutionary communist party so that the working class can seize state power

For women workers in this situation, it is difficult at times not to arrive at a feminist stance as a result of harrassment on the job It on the surface appears that the problem lies with men, workers as well as the capitalists This is especially true when the women workers are encouraged to isolate themselves from the men workers It is necessary that a correct understanding of the oppression of women be put forward to combat this false perspective which only serves to divert the struggle of women as well as the working class

WHERE WE SHOULD ORGANIZE

There exists the question as to whether or not women should go to work in plants or industries that are predominately male to organize The excuse for not working in such industries is that women should organize women, or that the contradiction between the men and women workers would become the primary



one, rather than the class contradiction These are both incorrect As leaders of the class, we determine where we work by the needs of the working class At this time the central task is that of building a new Communist Party , the basis of which is the fusion of scientific socialism with the working class movement This means to concentrate ourselves in the key industries, where the advanced workers are most likely to be To fail to assess the period we are in, and where strategically it is best to locate ourselves, is to do a real disservice to the working class

It is the responsibility of communists to give a correct perspective to the contradiction between men and women, and not avoid them for the sake of the "unity of the class" For it is true that contradictions do exist among the people We must recognize them and handle them correctly It is only genuine, concious unity that will, in the end, truly serve the working class This means unity that is based on an understanding of the oppression of women as well as the oppression of the working class ★

'GOOD NEIGHBORS' IN A COMPANY TOWN

The city of Clairton, Pa , has been a company town since the turn of the century The economic dislocations of capitalist society make themselves felt all the more sharply in a town like Clairton The effects of the general crisis of capitalism are felt not only by the workers at United States Steel works at Clariton, but also by the petty bourgeoisie (the class of small producers, merchants, and professionals) The struggle to clean up the coke works at Clariton has brought even this stratum into the political arena-- but to the disservice of the working class

BURIED AND CHOKING

Clariton is located along the Monongahela River, some 20 miles from downtown Pittsburgh Pittsburgh is one of the major industrial areas in hte U S and the center of the steel industry The United States Steel Corp is heavily concentrated in the Pittsburgh area, and the Clariton works is the most vital plant in this concentration

The Clariton coke works is the largest in the world, and supports nearly 9% of the total steel production in the U S , as coke is a major ingredient in the making of iron The by-product gas from the coke ovens at Clariton is piped to the other five U S S plants in the "Mon Valley" to be used as fuel to run those mills

But Clariton, along with Pittsburgh itself, is buried and choking under the pollutants from these mills The Clariton works alone spews out 42,300 tons of death-dealing gases and dusts each year These pollutants have been a major point of contention for years, both between the capitalists and the workers at U S Steel, and between the Corporation and state and county authorities

CLEAN-UP AGREEMENT

In 1975 the Allegany County Health Dept and the Pennsylvannia Dept of Environmental Resources filed charges against U S Steel for failing to comply with a 1972 agreement to clean up the Clairton coke works The agencies charged U S Steel with 241 violations and U S Steel claimed it was technologically impossible to comply with the requirements of the original agreement There have been court orders and overturned court orders since then, with the Environmental Protection Agency of the U S government stepping in recently, all spurred on by the struggles of coke workers throughout the U S against the conditions that prevail in the coke industry

The legal battles came to a head last November with the publication of a 40 page agreement between federal, state and county agencies and U S Steel This agreement would require U S Steel to put out over $600 million over the next 12 years to clean up and modernize the works The agreement was ratified by the agencies, the corporation and the courts in December, but already the deadline for compliance with three of its provisions have gone by and U S Steel is once again worming out as in 1972

REACTIONARY CAMPAIGN

The E P A sponsored s public hearing on the agreement in November in Pittsburgh In preparation for the hearing, U S Steel launched a massive media campaign, threatening to shut down the Clariton works and move to Ohio if forced to sign the agreement They continually maintained that the cost of the clean-up was too stiff, and that the workers and the public would have to choose between clean air and jobs

U S Steel's campaign had its intended effect the petty bourgeoisie of Clariton launched an organization, C O K E (Clairton Organizes to Keep Employment), which was solidly backed by the shop-keepers, bankers and city government of Clairton, and gathered the support of thousands of residents, including a significant, though small, number of steel and coke workers

C O K E plastered Clairton with posters and bumber stickers, and circulated petitions opposing the clean-up agreement, hammering away at the themes that "U S Steel is our good neighbor and friend", that Clairton can't survive without U S Steel, and that U S Steel can't "live with" the clean-up agreement

C O K E 's MOBILIZATION AND THE NON-MOBILIZATION BY U S W BUREAUCRATS

C O K E brought busloads of people to jam the hearing, providing them withbox lunches and placards C O K E even organized a highly-visible small contingent of people identifying themselves as "Union Members for C O K E ", under the slogans of "Jobs Or Starvation", "Your Job is On The Line", and "Plant Closed, No Jobs For You"

Meanwhile, the bureaucrats of the United Steelworkers Union did nothing to mobilize the rank and file members to combat the reactionary campaign of the petty bourgeoisie and support the agreement, and to smash the phony contradiction of "jobs vs health" cooked up by U S Steel and hysterically echoed by C O K E Those bureaucrats were aware of what C O K E was up to and knew full well the mass presence it would present at the hearing, as well as the harmful influence it was having in the community and among steelworkers

Yet the leaders" of the steelworkers relied on the "good will" and "reasonableness" of the state apparatus of the class enemy, the capitalists, and refused to mobilize the workers, while the leaders of the petty bourgeoisie, sponsored and financed by the very same capitalists who control the state, spread their reactionary influence among the workers and among the other sections of the population the bureaucrats of the USW even ordered its own director of health and safety not to speak at the hearing He finally did speak, even against orders, because the foul tide that C O K E had stirred up was too much to take He pointed out that U S S had taken over the city government and is not a "good neighbor", that 240 workers die every year at coke plants around the country, and that the town of Clariton has been deserted by the workers because of the pollution and the racism of U S S and the town

THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE IS CAUGHT IN THE VISE OF CAPITALISM'S GENERAL CRISIS

Why is C O K E so "concerned" about the jobs of steelworkers, so concerned that it is willing to sacrifice the health of those workers, and even the health of all the residents of Clairton The appearance of C O K E at the last minute in this struggle is the result of the devastating effects of the general crisis of capitalism on the petty bourgeoisie

As in all company towns, the wages of Clariton's steelworkers at one time supported a thriving class of small business people This was in the early days of the vigorous growth of capitalism But now U S imperialism is on the retreat around the world The loss of markets for investment of capital and for sale of commodities, along with the intensifying competition of other capitalist countries, has hurt the steel barons especially hard

As workers are thrown out of work by mechanization, speedups, forced overtime, and economic stagnation, and as their buying-power is eaten up by inflation, the petty bourgeoisie lose paying customers

SIGNS OF DECAY

The pittsburgh area, and Clairton in particular, have felt the effects of the general crisis of capitalism especially hard Pittsburgh suffered a loss of almost 14% of its population during the 60's, and Clairton lost over 18% From a town of 18,389 in 1960, Clairton has dwindled to under 14,000 now In 1970, there were 30,600 unoccupied housing units in the Pittsburgh area(which includes Clairton)

All over Pittsburgh there are long stretches of street where there are only one or two shops open, the rest all boarded up The "downhill" side of Clairton, the side right next to the biggest coke works in the world, is literally a ghost town *Clairton's central business district has shrunk by about one-third in the last decade*

The petty bourgeoisie of the Pittsburgh Metropolitan Area, and of Clairton in particular, as in all of the U S , is being ruined, violently thrown into the ranks of the working class or forced to move elsewhere in search of greener pastures But there are no greener pastures-- the entire capitalist world is caught in the coils of economic stagnation and financial crisis

THE CLASS ESSENCE OF C O K E 's STRUGGLE

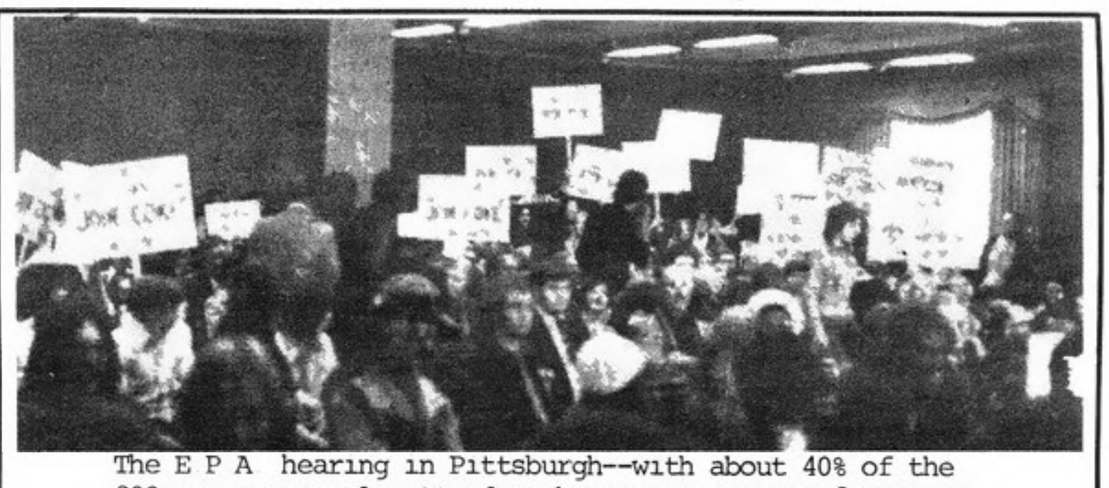
The petty bourgeoisie of Clairton, represented by C O K E is lashing out desparately at the effects of the general crisis of capitalism But it does not recognize the cause of the crisis and does not recognize its enemy It is not the loss of U S Steel that will ruin the petty bourgeoisie, the general crisis of capitalism is already ruining it The inevitable effects of capitalism cannot be fought by defending a particular capitalist

The petty bourgeoisie is a class caught in the middle, oppressed by big capital, and repelled by the prospect of "sinking to the level" of the proletariat It forms what Karl Marx called a "transition class, in which the interests of two classes are simultaneously mutually blunted" Because of this, the petty bourgeoisie "imagines himself elevated above class antagonism generally " (18th Brumaire, p54) This in turn makes the petty bourgeoisie, in struggle, ignore the ultimate interests and real positions of the different classes involved, it takes a diffuse, unstable stand, and inevitably wavers between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie

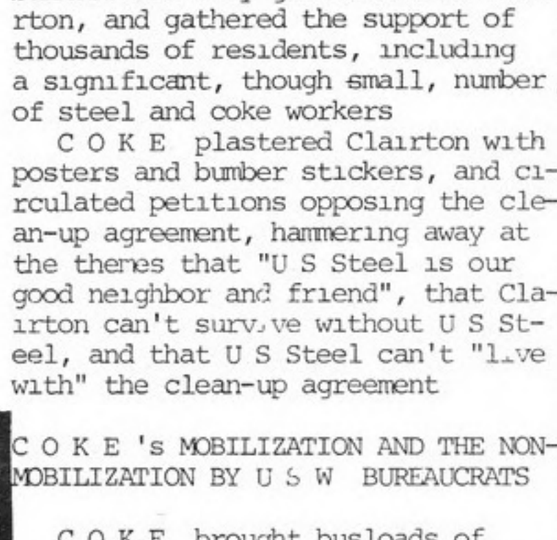
Because it is oppressed by big capital, the petty bourgeoisie is often forced to fight against the worst aspects of capitalism But because it is a property-owning class, a class that lives by making profits off of private property, it struggles against big capital from the position of defending its own petty, small-scale, property, and refuses to take a position that attacks the foundation of capitalist oppression private property

In this case, Clairton's merchants attempted to unite the workers and the big capitalists of steel they saw it as a struggle between "the people " and the state Their position not only failed to "defeat the state", but, more importantly, it played right into the hands of the capitalists of U S Steel C O K E 's activities have provided U S Steel with the cover of "mass support" for its attempts to undermine the coke clean-up measures, and its program of continued brutalization, not only of the

cont p 14



The E P A hearing in Pittsburgh--with about 40% of the 300 or more people attending being supporters of C O K E , the U S W was hardly in sight UNITE' PHOTO



UNITE' PHOTO

A Correction

In the article in the December-January issue of UNITE', where we reported on the Clairton coke struggle, we said that U S Steel's threat to shut down the Clairton Works and move to Ohio was "pure threat"

As communists, we use the science of Marxism-Leninism to guide the revolutionary struggles of the working class There is a big difference between scientific prediction, which is based on investigation, knowledge of the laws that govern the class struggle, and lessons from history, on the one hand, and subjective speculation on the other and It is not the business of communists to speak without investigation or to manufacture reality to suit our case We frankly do not know whether U S Steel could or would carry through on its threat The importance of the Clairton works to the local area indicates that it would be very difficult for them to do so, but they've taken drastic measures in the past, and circumstances may force them to it this time,too

We looked at only one side of the picture and made a hasty statement that might have given workers false confidence The working class has every reason to be confident, but it must also guard against underestimation of the class enemy

CPUSA'S JOB PROGRAM:
working overtime for the bourgeoisie

Capitalism is in crisis The bourgeoisie is faced with a situation it doesn't want but is powerless to remedy or prevent Because of this crisis, unemployment is so high and so prolonged that the capitalists can no longer afford to ignore it or to shrug it off as "normal" or "acceptable" The working class will not let it As a result, they and their apologists of all colors have been working overtime thinking up schemes and plans which attempt either to justify the present high rate of joblessness or which promise to minimize and combat it

One of these apologists the "Communist" Party of the United States of America ("C"PUSA), has come up with a program it has tried to pass off to both the working class and to the U S bourgeoisie as a cure-all for the ills of capitalism and a sure remedy for the problem of joblessness At one time the leader of the working class movement, now the "C"PUSA is a traitor to the working class and their job program is just one example of this

"SAY YES TO DETENTE AND FIVE MILLION NEW JOBS"

To the "C"PUSA detente is the peaceful way for solving the world's problems The contention between the two superpowers will be ended by the superpowers, the Soviet Union and the U S negotating arms limitations, trade agreements etc , and as a result of these jobs and better conditions would be created for the working class But more and more detente is being exposed, for in reality the superpowers have no intention of limiting arms expansion and have every intent of continuing with their plunder of the world's people and resources like in Angola

According to this plan, five million new jobs can be had simply by "saying yes to detente" and increasing trade between the U S and the Soviet Union By presenting this program, these peddlers of phony "detente" have attempted to decieve the working class as to the nature of imperialism in general and, in particular, to the nature and role of Soviet social-imperialism

First of all, what would this increase of trade consist of, wheat? The Soviets have already said that they are not interested in buying nearly as much wheat as they have in the past Consumer goods? The social-imperialists are much too intent on the stockpiling of arms and war preparations to spend much money on washing machines and T V 's Machinery? Now this is a different story' But the West Germars have already said yes to detente and have become the chief exporters, not only of machinery but of all goods, to the U S S R In spite of this, however, Germany's own economic crisis continues to worsen along with the other capitalist countries and its unemployment has doubled What is the problem then? It certainly is not one of simply working out the particulars of a trade agreement

One of the fundamental aspects of the present crisis of capitalism is that of competition between imperialist powers - competition to grab markets for both investments and commodities and for cheap sources of raw materials Such competition has greatly increased the contradictions between the imperialist powers and has only served to aggravate their general crisis This is no less the case between the Soviet Union and the U S both of which are imperialist powers and each of which is out to plunder and rob the other of as much as it can Inevitably this competition is bound to lead to war and to greater exploitation of the working class of both countries--not to an end to economic crisis and unemployment The easing of tensions and the mutual benefits which these phony "communists" attribute to detente are a sham because detente is a sham There can be no "detente" between imperialist powers, and only the bourgeoisie, not the working class, can benefit from the spreading of such illusions

SNOW JOB ON NO JOBS

But the genius of this "revolutionary" plan does not end here For those workers not fortunate enough to benefit from an increase in trade, the program goes on, the "C"P promises an additional 17 million new jobs by "cutting the work week to 30 hours with no cut in pay" and hiring additional workers to take up the slack Such a wonderful "solution" is based on the incorrect idea that unemployment is merely a technical problem for capitalism According to the "C"P the problem is simply one in which technology and automation have reached the point where the economy can no longer provide jobs for everyone Socialist countries are also faced with this supposed technological law The difference, says the "C"P, is that, under socialism, when new machinery is brought in, hours of work are shortened accordingly to stave off the otherwise inevitable unemployment For the "C"PUSA, socialism is pretty much like capitalism, but with a continuing shorter work week to spread the ever decreasing jobs around It is through lies like this that the "C"P covers for capitalism and its systematic failure to achieve full employment

The facts of the matter are that capitalist production is production for profit It is not carried out for the purpose of meeting the needs of the working class as it is under socialism If money isn't being made from a particular type of work, then that work is cut back or is stopped and the people who do it for wages are out of a job Likewise, since the goal of capitalism is profit, each capitalist is constantly looking for ways to make fewer workers do more work, and fewer workers means fewer jobs Those workers who are out of jobs provide the capitalist with an army of workers in reserve which is then used to hold down wages and to counter demands with the threat of easy "replacement" To do away with unemployment you have to do away with capitalism Period In capitalist countries, profit considerations dictate more and more overtime to fewer and fewer workers This does not exist in socialist countries

The purpose of the "C"P job program is to gut the essence of socialism, justify the failure of capitalism, while appearing to defend the interests of the unemployed While the working class faces massive losses of jobs and hours, the "C"PUSA is putting in overtime for the bourgeoisie with its "say yes" campaign

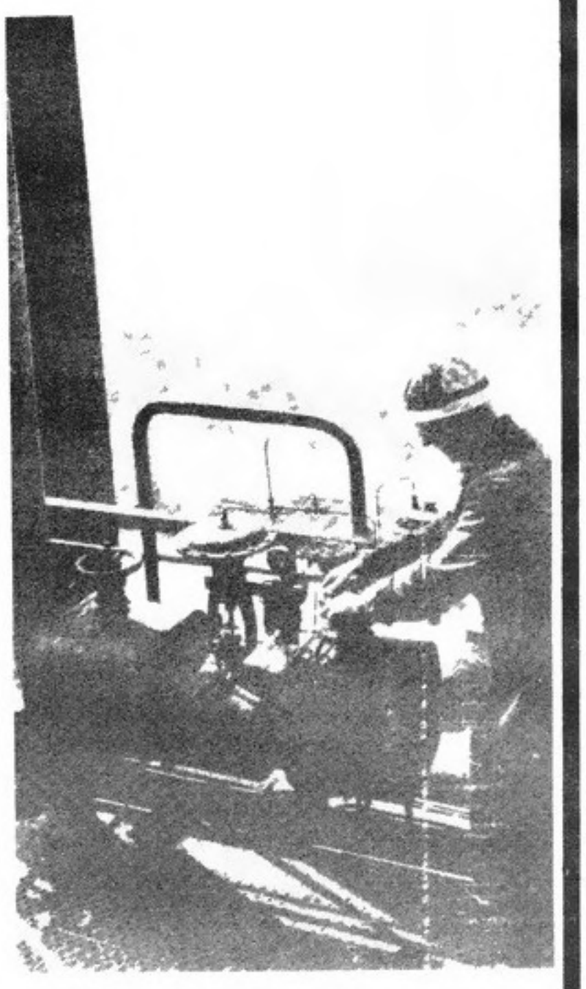
FUEL HOLD-OUT
"crisis" = profits

For many working class and oppressed people, making a choice between food and fuel has become reality If they were going to pay for the emergency fuel delivery it meant no money left over for food If by chance they had money left over, it meant paying up to $2 00 a pound for tomatoes due to the freeze in Florida Many families went without heat for days on end Elderly stayed in bed all day so that they wouldn't freeze to death Close to 2 million workers were laid off due to the gas shortage Whole state school systems were shut down

Yet in the midst of this crisis we learned of supplies of natural gas in Texas and elsewhere We heard of a certain Mr Sandchez, a gas producer, who has plenty of gas but isn't about to sell it for $1 42 per thousand cubic feet when he can get $2 00 a thousand Or of a Mr Intyre, who also has plenty of gas for the right price Already, natural gas companies are reporting gains up to 70%, but the full effect of this crisis will not be known until the weather breaks All of this is more than slightly reminiscent of the last so calle "energy crisis", when it was a hardship on the working class but provided the bourgeoisie with record profits up to 200% over previous years

Then the message comes down to the working class from Carter, the solution to the energy problem SACRIFICE, TURN THE THERMOSTATS DOWN, PAY HIGHER PRICES, and the message to the bourgeoisie, we'll deregulate gas prices Carter's Emergency Natural Gas Measure called for a lifting of gas price controls, possibly having a ceiling of $2 25 per thousand cubic feet In addition, there is a proposal to end federal regulation of newly discovered gas, to encourage exploration and production The bourgeoisie wants the working class to believe that the energy crisis is the result of price controls

Not surprisingly, Carter's plan has had support from all kinds of leaders In the Black Belt South, one of these "leaders", Mr John Lewis, former head of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and recent head of the Atlanta based voter Education Project, paid lip service to the problems of the poor and Blacks out of one side of his mouth while at the same time singing the praises of the suspension of price controls, saying that "Emergency suspension of price controls will assure a flow of natural gas to the hardest hit areas in Atlanta



and Georgia " Thus, this so-called "peoples representative" has exposed himself as nothing more than an apologist for the bourgeoisie

Carter recently warned the country that we were probably entering a "permanent, very serious energy shortage " This is just another aspect of the further deepening of the crisis of capitalism The capitalist system does not know the meaning of planning Instead, capitalism, because it is run for profits, suffers from anarchy Natural disasters will happen, but the hardship that people will have to endure depends on the economic system that is operating In socialist countries the economy is planned and run to meet the peoples needs Unlike capitalist countries where drilling for natural gas is not done because it is not profitable, in socialist countries, like China both production and economy are stressed Last month, China was able to report that they had been able to save fuel and electric power due to technical innovations and tapping production potentials So, it is not the price controls that are the problem as the capitalists would have us believe, but the capitalist system itself The only solution to the year after year, ever worsening crisis is the overthrow of capitalism, replacing it with socialism

MINERS' WILDCATS CONTINUE

The militant struggle of the coal miners against the labor bureaucrats and the energy barons is stepping up

-- In Illinois, all coal miners are out on a wildcat over on-the-spot safety inspections in the mines

--In West Virginia, 30,000 miners are out on wildcats

-- In Eastern Kentucky wildcats continue since last July Shootings have been reported

In all cases, the rank and file have carried on the interests of the union in spite of the collaborationist policies of the top union bureaucrats, who have placed a stranglehold on the functionning of the union



BUILD THE PARTY OF

On the party program

In building the revolutionary vanguard communist party in the United States, the key link in completing this task today, is the development of a Marxist-Leninist draft party program This is because all other ideological, political and organizational tasks will be moved forward by taking the draft party program to the workers for struggle and development

THE HISTORY OF THE SOVIET UNION (BOLSHEVIKS) states that

> "The program of a workers' party, as we know it, is a brief, scientifically formulated statement of the aims and object of the struggle of the working class The program defines both the ultimate goal of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, and the demands for which the party fights while on the way to the achievement of the ultimate goal " HCPSU(B) 1939, p 38

THE NATURE OF THE PROGRAM

The program is based on the task of the emancipation of labor from the oppression of capital, the transfer of all means of production to social ownership and the siezure of state power by the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat This means that the *essence of the party program is to organize the class struggle of the proletariat and to lead this struggle*

By formulating the aims and objectives of the working class and drawing lines of demarcation with alien tendencies, the program establishes the real unity of the vanguard detachment and provides the basis for all-round day-to-day agitation and propaganda

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PARTY PROGRAM

In order to develop the politic and tactical foundations of tne pa ty, we must apply Marxism-Leninism the concrete conditions This is t fusion of theory and practice The program is a practical weapon in the hands of the working class

The party program is essential for the consolidation and consistent activity of a proletarian par ty With the grasping of Marxism-Leninism as our guide to action, the only way in which "local work" can be raised to a higher level, will be through organization and unity This organization and unity will only be welded on the basis of common practice developed from a common party program

This program must formulate our basic views, precisely establish our immediate political tasks, point out the immediate demands, show the area of agitational activity, give unity to the agitational work, expand and deepen it, raising it from fragmentary, partial agitation for petty, isolated demands to the status of agitation for the sum-total of communist demands In this way, the program will strengthen the connections between class-conscious workers and revolutionary intellectuals, and extend their activity, and will dispel misconceptions about communism, and the aims of communists

Not all parties have been formed on the basis of a draft party program *But in the United States, with over thirty years of modern revisionism to repudiate, with the variety of"communist forces" and the protracted nature of the struggle to forge the party, a draft party program is an indispensable weapon for drawing genuine lines of demarcation and actively mobilizing the advanced detachment of the working class for the first party congress*

To grasp the importance of the party program is not a matter of a "minor modification" of a plan as the October League advanced, by first calling for the formation of the party without a party program or congress and then calling for both and suggesting that this represented a "minor modification" of their views The party program must actively be taken to the working class This would be the main task of a genuine organizing committee, unlike that of the October League, who has consistently refused to bring the questions of the party program to the workers to discuss

WHAT THE PARTY PROGRAM SHOULD CONTAIN

The party program should begin with a definite indictment of capitalism, with a practical disclosure of the contradictions of capitalism, its development and consequences for the conditions and alignment of social forces This should be clear and concise and remind the working class of their own experience

The program should bring into the foreground and emphasis the process of development of the objective conditions It is the task of the party to consciously lead the spontaneous working class movement which emerges as a result of the objective conditions The party program is essential in carrying forward the task of fusing scientific socialism with the spontaneous working class movement As Enver Hoxha has said, *"socialism is built by the masses, the party makes them conscious "*

A draft outline of the content of the program would include

SECTION I - STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

The main thrust of this section is to establish this as the revolutionary program of the proletariat

A Development of capitalism in the U S --the objective conditions of the proletariat contrasted with the bourgeoisie
1 Imperialism--the second stage of the General Crisis-- U S imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism-- the development of class contradictions in the world and imperialist war preparations
2 Conditions of the working class in the U S --national oppression-- struggle against the bourgeoisie spontaneously and the reaction from the ruling class

B Development of class contradictions leads to proletarian revolution
1 Growth of the working class movement spontaneously
2 Working class struggle for emancipation means the smashing of bourgeois rule (the nature of the state) and the establishment of socialism as the only true way, through proletarian revolution, for the material well being of the vast majority of society to be ensured
3 Socialist revolution will eventually accomplish the elimination of classes, class divisions and class contradictions, and the elimination of social and political inequality
4 The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary political condition for the transition from capitalism to communism, with the real nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat spelled out



5. Role and tasks of communists to expose the irreconcilability of the class interests of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, to explain the historical role and significance of the proletariat as a class, its world historic mission, the nature of proletarian revolution, and the necessity for a vanguard communist party
6 Interests of the world proletariat guide the class struggle in the U S , that the proletarian revolution is fought for in the interests of the exploited and oppressed masses of all the world, in the name of proletarian internationalism

SECTION II--DEMANDS OF THE MASSES

This is the practical part of the program which sets forth the entire set of basic demands that have significance for the entire working class

A Concrete programmatic demands of the working class movement
1 Struggle for the democratic rights which protect the working class and raises its fighting capacity
2 From this, various particular demands laid out right to assembly; freedom of the press, unionization, education, right to strike, full equality without regard to sex, nationality, religion, or race, medical care, chi-

HISTORY OF TH

In the midst of the 1900-1905 industrial crisis, which threw tens of thousands of workers into the streets, the working class struggle in Russia intensified against the tsarist regime, bringing the peasantry and the students into the revolutionary movement Against this rising revolutionary tide the forces of tsarist reaction struck back at the working masses It was in these conditions that Lenin developed Marxism as a guide to action to lead the revolutionary movement and work to establish the vanguard communist party of the Russian masses

Today in the U S our situation is in many ways similar The increasing burden of the General Crisis being shifted to the backs of the working class, through loss of jobs, the gas "shortage", etc. has given rise to a high level of militancy of the workers' movement But the Marxist- Leninist forces are yet unable to seize upon this situation and lead the working class struggle, precisely because of the lack of a communist party in the U S

"LEGAL MARXISM" = OPPORTUNISM

In Russia, despite the calling of a First Congress of the Russian Social- Democratic Party in 1898, there was no real party in existence Ideological and organizational confusion was rampant, and the rise of the influence of Marxism gave birth to Marxism as a fad, as a fashionable outlook This meant an increase in the influence of distortions of Marxism, by those "legal Marxists" who had only a vaugue, incorrect idea of what Marxism was all about This also infected the workers' movement with more confusion and opportunism



The main expression of this opportunism were the "Economists", who were content with the situation as it was, who justified the ideological and organizational confusion of the revolutionary movement and who believed that they could get along without a centralised party

In the U S this tendency also exists, based on nearly the same social base Students and other petty-bourgeois elements rally around "socialism" out of intellectual choice rather than from necessity as does the working class This is clearly expressed in the petty-bourgeois origins of most of the Marxist-Leninist organizations and collectives in the U S *Many of these comrades became involved in the activities of the working class movement out of sentiment rather than an understanding of the principles of Marxism- Leninism, or the nature of socialism This accounts for much of the political vacillation and organizational chaos of the movement to date*

ISKRA AND PARTY BUILDING

In order to serve the task of establishing the ideological basis of the party,(its nature, object and aims) and the organizational actuality of the party, Lenin proposed the use of an all- Russian paper as the main way to weld the party together organizationally and ideologically At the same time this paper would serve as the main means of defeating the influence of"Economism" in the course of building the party

"I assert," Lenin wrote, "1) that no revolutionary movement can endure without a stable organization of leaders that mai-

THE WORKING CLASS!

ldcare, pensions, arming of th people, material well-being, etc
3 Establishment of the material and political prerequisites for full participation of women in social production
B National Question
1 The proletariat struggles for the self-determination of the proletariat in each nationality, and works for the closest unity of the proletariat of all nationalities
2 We uphold the right of self-determination of all nations
3 Support for the national liberation movements throughout the world which objectively oppose imperialism
4 Recognition of the existence and rights of the Black Nation in the black belt South
5 Call for the independence of Puerto Rico
6 The Chicano National Question
7 Other possible national questions ie, Native American, Hawaii, Guam, Micronesia,etc
8 Relationship of democratic struggles of national minorities to working class struggle spelled out
9 Development of an agrarian reform position for the elimination of feudal remnants

WHAT THE PROGRAM SHOULD NOT CONTAIN

The program should not lump together fundamental principles of scientific socialism with narrow, concrete demands of the particular time and place, (May Day, Boston Busing,etc) nor should it be the place for polemics, or definitions of intended tactics

It should be short, concise and not degenerate into a commentary on the program itself Commentaries, whether of a propaganda or agitational form, should supplement the program in the practice of winning the masses to the acceptance of the fact that the party and the party program speak to their real needs and interests A long, windy, party program, such as that of the Revolutionary "Communist" Party, is of little or no use as a weapon for the working class or to engage the party in the practical struggle of the masses

The RCP program, which includes an extended theoretical discussion of various aspects of capitalism, from the theory of surplus value to a discription of life under socialism, is not a scientific party program It is not a document which correctly sums up the experience of the working class or its aims, nor is it an indictment of capitalism and an appeal to workers about this situation Instead it is nothing but a vague treatise on the existing world and a list of desires, which leaves the demands of the working class and their ultimate goal buried in a mess of theoretical errors, and distortions of reality

FUSING SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM WITH THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

Lenin constantly emphasized the agitational content and use of the party program, it must be consise, brief, clear and aimed at all militant workers The language must be popular and lend itself to the generation of slogans for use in the day-to-day struggle It should remind workers of their own experience, by pointing to the general contradictions in capitalist society, and raising demands which speak to the real needs of the workers and oppressed nationalities It should not describe that experience but sum-up its significance The program should be taken to the working class in the way that Lenin took it in TO THE RURAL POOR, LCW,Vol 6 ,which is a sentence by sentence explanation, in a popular style We recommend that this work be studied along with the program of the Russian Social Democrati Party

The program is a guide to action by defining the focus of the direction in which the working class must be educated, organized and mobilized by its own experience to overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and establish socialism

The program, its goals, aims, and demands, is the correct basis for strategy In this way it will be the main tool for the fusion of scientific socialism with the working class movement by leading the day to day struggle of the working class against the capitalist class and toward our ultimate goal *The party program is a weapon of class struggle in the hands of the working class, transforming their consciousness into a material force for the siezure of state power*

E CPSU(B)- Chapter 2



ntains continuity,2) that the wider the masses spontaneously drawn into the struggle the more urgent the need of such an organization, and the more solid this organization must be 3) that such an organization must consist chiefly of people professionally engaged in revolutionary activity, 4) that in an autocratic state the more we confine the membership of such an organization to people who are professionally engaged in revolutionary activity and who have been professionally trained in the art of combating the political police, the more difficult will it be to wipe out such an organization, and 5) the greater will be the number of people of the working class and of other classes of society who will be able to join the movement and perform active work in it "
(HISTORY OF CPSU(B),pp 33-34)

In preparing the acceptance of such a plan for party building, Lenin laid out the following principles in his famous work, WHAT IS TO BE DONE?, which stated that Economism was counterrevolutionary
(1) because it limited the struggle of the workers to only the "economic realm" when in fact they wanted the abolition of capitalism in its entirety,
(2)because it denied the leading role of the party and reduced it to playing a passive role at the tail of the class struggle,
(3) because it worshiped the spontaneous working class movement and denied the role of consciousness, that is theory in showing the working class the correct path through the class struggle,
(4) because they deceived the working class by asserting that Socialist ideology, that is scientific socialism, could arise from the spontaneous movement of the working class,
(5) because, from these, they really wanted a party of reform and not of revolution,
(6) because all this showed that they were and instrument of bourgeois influence in the working class movement

From this base ISKRA was able to defeat " Economism" and to lay the basis for the consolidation of the party The drafting of the party program, which is a brief scientifically formulated statement of the aims and objectives of the struggle of the working class, combining the immediate demands, (or minimum program) with the ultimate goal(or maximum program) to lead the working class to socialism through the experience of the day to day course of events, was also accomplished by ISKRA

In the U S today we have yet to weld together the various forces which will make up the party There is no ideological center, only various groups with degrees of influence in the working class movement We, too, need to defeat the ideological confusion and organizational disunity which exists within our ranks and forge the vanguard of the proletariat The party program will also be decisive in our struggle for the party

LENINIST PARTY

At the Second Congress of the R S D L P the work and preparation of Lenin and ISKRA, bore fruit in the actual founding of the party Once the program was adopted which had been drafted byISKRA, then came a struggle around party rules, around the organizational principles of the party

It was on this issue that the Bolsheviks and the Menshiviks came into their first struggle and split The Menshiviks wanted a lose, undisciplined party, which would allow in any and all elements who merely paid dues and accepted the party program Lenin and the Bolsheviks opposed this, and demanded that party members belong to one of the organizations of the party, to be under discipline to account for their actions

Due to the alignment of opportunist forces at the congress, Lenin's position was defeated by the Menshiviks *Lenin recognised that this was an attempt to reinstate the old conditions of organizational disunity which ISKRA had fought to overcome*

ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK

In order to defeat this line, Lenin laid out the organizational principles of a Marxist party in his famous book ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK Those principles are
(1) The Marxist Party is the vanguard detachment of the working class, armed with a knowledge of the life of society, its development and the laws of class struggle, enabling it to lead and direct the working class struggle,
(2) The party is the organized detachment of the working class, welded together by unity of will, unity of action and unity of discipline,
(3) The party is the highest form of organization of the working class and thus obliged to guide all the other organizations of the class,
(4) The party is the embodiment of the connection of the vanguard of the working class with the millions of the working masses, and which has won their confidence,
(5) The guiding organizational principle of the party, at that time, due to the reactionary suppression by Tsarism, was centralism This was however a temporary feature, and with the elimination of this condition the party would be established on the basis of democratic centralism,
(6) In order to preserve the unity of its ranks, the party must impose common proletarian discipline, equally binding on all party members, both leaders and the rank-and- file

Lenin stressed, therefore, that ideological unity was not enough, that this would have to be consolidated by the material unity of the organization Any belittling of this view was belittling the weapon of organization of the proletariat in its struggle for emancipation

LESSONS FOR OUR STRUGGLE

In summarising the ideological and organizational principles of a Marxist-Leninist party, it becomes clear that they are applicable to our situation today The working class in the U S is increasingly under attack by the bourgeoisie, on many fronts and in many ways

Leadership of the working class movement will only come about by applying these principles to bring about the actual conditions for forming a vanguard communist party. At this time there is no party program or ideological center for the working class movement in the U S Without these two important accomplishments the organizational principles laid down by Lenin can not be put into practice

The MLOC has set itself the goal of fulfilling the responsibility to prepare the actual conditions for the founding of a genuine vanguard communist party This is in contrast to the October League, who has historically belittled the importance and role of a party program, originally stating that the party could be formed without a party program, or the August Twenty Ninth Movement who reprinted the THESIS ON THE ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES adopted by the Third International in 1921 (in the journal of the ATM Vol 1), though Lenin himself stated that this THESIS was too particular to Russia, and not generally applicable

Forging the vanguard communist party is the key link in the revolutionary chain at this time Grasp firmly the key link of party building to move forward the entire working class struggle toward socialist revolution

10 SCHOOLS: "TRAINING" CENTERS IN SERVICE OF THE BOURGEOISIE

There is no quality education in the United States for the working class and national minorities The educational system is not run in the interests of the working class it is run to serve the bourgeoisie It is in the schools under capitalism that the glories of capitalism are sung and lies about communism are told In these schools the history of the working class movement is either not spoken of, or totally distorted History is portrayed as a few single men, such as Abraham Lincoln, changing the course of history, rather than teaching the youth that the true makers of history are the masses of working people It is also in the schools under capitalism that the struggles of oppressed nations around the world are falsified or negated, such as the historic struggle of the Black Nation for self-determination Today, there is still a struggle going on in Alabama over school textbooks for 4th graders which portray an idyllic life on the plantations and "happy" relationships between the slaves and plantation owners

There can be no quality education under capitalism for poor and working people, for education under capitalism must perpetuate bourgeois ideology

NO EQUALITY IN EDUCATION UNDER CAPITALISM

There is not equality in education under capitalism Since schools are funded primarily by local governments, they reflect the social content and wealth of their population Therefore, schools in wealthier areas are able to employ more teachers, buy enough supplies, and have special programs that schools in working class and poor neighborhoods cannot Among the working class, the poorest neighborhoods, and therefore the poorest schools, belong to children of oppressed nations and national minorities

The disparity between schools in working class, oppressed nation, and national minority neighborhoods, and schools in petty-bourgeois neighborhoods(not to mention private schools and academies attended by the children of the bourgeoisie) is growing clearer every day, as evidenced by the growing demand for busing

It is no accident that the schools in these poorer neighborhoods are overcrowded, lack supplies, teachers, special programs, or any other thing required for a halfway decent education

EDUCATION THE WORST IN BLACK BELT SOUTH AND SOUTHWEST

In the oppressed Black Nation, the disparity with the rest of the U S is marked, especially among Blacks *45% of people 20 years and over were not high school graduates, compared with 36% in the U S as a whole For Blacks it is worse 67% were not high school graduates compared to 50% of Blacks elsewhere Educational achievement also shows a marked contrast In 1972, only 42% of 17 year olds in the South were at or above their normal grade level of 11 years of school completed, and 20% had completed only the 8th or 9th grades Comparable figures for the Northeast, Central and Western U S were 51% who had completed 11 years, and 11% only 8 or 9 years Of the 13 states with the lowest expenditures per pupil in 1973, 11 are southern states These same 11 states are among the bottom 19 in per capita income*

No southern state has a statewide public kindergarten system

In the Southwest, the U S 's most impressive area by educational standards, more than 3/4 of all Chicanos have less than a high school education In 33 out of 35 metropolitan areas of the Southwest, Chicanos have completed the least amount of school years, in comparison with both Whites and Blacks

SCHOOLS FOR WAGE SLAVES

Why is there no "equal education for all"? The bourgeoisie needs a working class to run its mills, plants, and farms It needs part of this working class to be skilled This requires a certain type of education Therefore, this section of the working class is tracked into vocational schools and training programs But in the main, the public school system for the working class is a place for their youth to bide time before they join the ranks of the industrial proletariat The bourgeoisie cares little about whether or not these people can read or write The capitalist cares only that it has a ready supply of workers The public schools provide that While keeping unemployment figures down, schools provide a place for children to be while their parents are working *So many high school students must quit school early, or are graduated without being able to read or write, that they are left no option but to work in a mill, plant, or farm*

One does not have to look far to see that the public schools for the working class are not institutions that promote learning How can a student learn to read when there are not enough books to go around, or when there is one teacher for 50-60 students, or wher there are no bi-lingual programs? How can a student learn to read and write when their teachers are more interested in peddling them drugs or keeping them quiet, than teaching them anything? *This is the kind of "training' that the public school system uses in order to prepare another generation of workers for the capitalist class*

SOCIALIST EDUCATION

The only way that the working class, oppressed nations, and national minorities will receive quality education is when the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie has been overthrown and replaced with the dictatorship of the working class socialism

In the country of Albania, before the revolution 80% of the population was illiterate, and in some rural areas, up to 95% After the seizure of state power a campaign was launched against illiteracy, under the slogan, CONSTRUCTION REQUIRES KNOWLEDGE AND KNOWLEDGE REQUIRES TRAINING This directive was taken up by the trade unions and women's organizations, and by the population as a whole. After 10 years, illite—— was wiped out among all of the people under age 40

Socialist education recognizes that learning and school are part and parcel of life, and that life itself is a great continual school This is of great importance because communist education of the younger generation, as well as that of the working masses, is carried out not only through organized school education, but also in revolutionary practice, political and socially productive activity

Schools are founded on the principle of a relationship between teaching, work, and military training, so that there can begin to be a breaking down of the difference between mental and physical work Schools then become a powerful lever which on the one hand, serves for the continual raising of the cultural-educational level of the masses, and contributes to the linking of the school youth with physical work, thus merging them with the working masses

In Albania, there is also education for working people Every measure is taken for the creation of the material base to accomplish this Education is free for all schools Classes and correspondence schools are set up to meet workers' schedules, time off from work is given without a loss of pay 12 5% of the total budget is toward improving education for the masses

Education is one of the important steps of socialist construction, and is given in the spirit of strengthening the control of the working people of the economic and political life of their country It is not kept separate from production, as is attempted in the capitalist countries Under socialism, education, and work, are a great honor, because they enable each person to contribute their best toward building their country For under socialism, education exists to serve the needs of the working people, and not the bourgeoisie ★

SMASH THE CAMPAIGN OF SLANDER AGAINST THE GREAT STALIN!

Joseph J Stalin, born on December 21, 1879, was to become one of the greatest leaders of the Russian working class and of the international working class After the death of V I Lenin, Stalin was called upon to lead the vast masses of workers and peasants in the Soviet Union Millions of workers in all countries looked to Stalin as their teacher They learned and continue to learn through his teachings how to carry on the class struggle and pave the way for the ultimate victory of the working class The triumph of the socialist revolution in the Soviet Union, the building of socialism and the victory of the Patriotic war against the fascists in the second World War, all clearly pointed out the correctness of the leadership of the great Lenin and Stalin

In many particular areas the great leader, Stalin furthered the development of Marxism-Leninism *On the national question it was and continues to be Stalin's work,MARXISM AND THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTION, which serves as a guide to action for oppressed peoples of the world in their struggle for liberation* Stalin performed a great task in the Soviet Union in the forming of the National Soviet Republics and then in the voluntary amalgamation of all the Soviet Republics into one union state,the



Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Stalin's contributions in the process of consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat are innumerable It was under the leadership of Stalin that the plan of socialist industrialization of Russia was carried out *Stalin laid out the plan for the voluntary collectivization of agriculture, which was of extreme importance as the peasantry was the main ally of the proletariat*

It was Stalin who recognized the true nature of Trotskyism as enemies of the working class and that they actively sought to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat Stalin resolutely led the struggle against these opportunists

The Communist International grew and developed under the guidance of Stalin The Communist International played a large role in the welding of the vanguard of the working class into true working class parties In the United States, the Communist Party was given much assistance on such burning questions as factory nuclei and the Black National Question

It was through the leadership of Stalin that the Soviet Union was able to defeat the fascist attack of Hitler's army when the whole of the German army directed its attack on the socialist state of Russia

There are two questions of particular importance that we focus on today one, as we celebrate International Working Womans Day, the correct line put forward by Comrade Stalin on the Woman Question , the other, taking party building as the key link, is the question of training of cadre

Stalin clearly recognized the important role women have historically played in the struggle of the oppressed He pointed to the task of the proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist Party, to wage a resolute struggle to wrest working class women from the influence of the bourgeoisie and to politically educate and organize them under the banner of the pro-

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National Oppression & RESISTANCE!

MARDI GRAS — A FEUDAL PARADE

Around the country, "Mardi Gras" means parades, parties, and drunken dancing in the streets of New Orleans But to the working class of New Orleans, the feudal character of Mardi Gras is clear -- and the cultural backwardness, national oppression and bourgeois class rule which it promotes

ORIGIN OF MARDI GRAS

The origin of Mardi Gras is in the French Catholic tradition Mardi Gras, translated into English, means "Fat Tuesday" This is the Tuesday before Ash Wednesday, which in turn is 40 days before Easter Ash Wednesday, the first of these forty days known as "Lent", marks the period when pious Catholics give up something, deprive themselves of some desire such as eating candy, wearing lipstick, etc "Fat Tuesday", the last day before Lent, is the last chance in which to indulge oneself in pleasure, as the next morning the pious put ashes on their foreheads and Lent begins

Southern Louisiana was under French rule for many years and is still populated by many descendants of the French In this area, Mardi Gras has been celebrated as a Catholic religious tradition for hundreds of years However, *it is only within the last 100 years, since the restoration of the rule of the Southern landlords, and the seizure of land from former Black slaves and white sharecroppers that the celebration has reached gigantic proportions and taken on real significance for the maintanence of bourgeois rule*

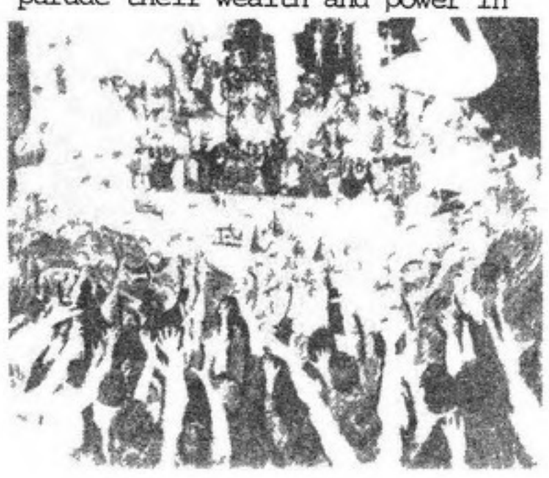
MANY KREWES FOR THE RICH FEW

This year in New Orleans alone there were 55 different parades and 59 balls These parades are elaborate, with huge floats costing thousands of dollars each Mardi Gras balls begin officially on the 12th night after Christmans and continue for almost two months The sponsors of these parades and balls are secret societies, called "Krewes" The krewes have secret membership and wear masks while presiding at their balls or riding on floats They elect kings, queen, ladies-in-waiting, pages, and knights In fact, all of the royalty and nobility of feudal Europe is present At the balls there is usually a pageant presented with a theme such as celebrating the court of Marie Antoinette in pre-revolutionary France At the parades, this "aristocracy" rides through the street, tossing plastic beads and doubloons to the masses of people who line the streets

Mardi Gras is a holiday of the bourgeoisie, where they flaunt their wealth and power In a city which is majority Black, full of rotten housing, cancerous drinking water, high unemployment, racially segregated longshore unions and one of the most vicious and brutal police forces in the country, the white ruling class parades the streets, throwing trinkets to its "loyal subjects" (which is how they address the masses of people who made their wealth, in their "royal proclamations") The scene of these masked aristocrats tossing useless baubles to the poor and working people who are struggling for their very survival, is straight out of the Middle Ages of feudal Europe And, as feudalism saw countless uprisings and revolutionary resistance by the masses of peasants, so there is a growing tide of resistance and revolutionary spirit rising among the masses of Black people and white workers and farmers in the Black Belt Nation *Every year more and more local workers refuse to participate in Mardi Gras at all There has been such an increase in spontaneous attacks against the police and the parading nobility, that the bourgeoisie has come to fear travelling through the streets on their floats* Increasingly their baubles are met with curses and jeers, open ridicule and bricks

There are many different kinds of carnival Krewes which parade the streets, all of them representing various segments of the bourgeoisie the labor aristocracy parades, as does the newly-rich bourgeoisie, the old landed bourgeoisie, and the petit bourgeoisie The two oldest Krewes, Rex and Comus, are the most elite and aristocratic Comus first marched in 1857, suspended during the Civil War, and reappeared in 1870 Ironically, Rex first appeared in 1872 in honor of the visit of Grand Duke Alexis of imperialist Russia The meeting of Rex and Comus' royalty at midnight on Mardi Gras day (broadcast on local t v a la Guy Lombardo on New Year's Eve) signifies the official end of Mardi Gras and the beginning of Lent *Both these Krewes, as well as all others, exclude Blacks and women* A few of the newer "more liberal" Krewes permit a few Jewish members, but Rex and Comus do not There are several women's Krewes, which formed in the 1930's in response to this exclusion, as there is one Black Krewe, Zulu, which formed in 1909 Rex's moto is "pro bono publico" "for the good of the public" yet membership to Rex and Comus is only through invitation, which is usually based on birth or marriage the public should beg for doubloons, not ask to join

In these two Krewes are the most powerful and oldest slave-owning and wealthy families of New Orleans These are the families that own the plantations, the shipping lines, the docks and the land on which a huge petro-chemical industry has arisen They protect their holdings through their control of the state, and once a year, at Mardi Gras, they parade their wealth and power in



an effort to intimidate the masses of people

MARDI GRAS AND THE EXPLOITATION OF THE BLACK NATION

For many years the huge multinational corporations, based in the North, which extract raw resources and cheap labor from the Black Belt South, have complained that their representatives in New Orleans were excluded from the most powerful Krewes, Rex and Comus, because they were "outsiders" and didn't come from the old, aristocratic families Although these corporations all have local aristocrats working with them, they were unable to bring their own executives down here and get them into "high society" Often these corporations, such as Texaco and Mobil, would refuse to locate their Southern offices in New Orleans, going instead to Atlanta and Houston, partially because of the exclusiveness and elitism of the New Orleans bourgeoisie There is a very active element of the local bourgeoisie in New Orleans, primarily bankers and real estate investors and speculators, that desires expanded penetration of the local economy by Northern imperialists The formation of new Mardi Gras krewes is openly recognized as being intended to provide easier access for exploitation of the resources and labor of the area They allow Northern corporations to send in their people from outside, using the private clubs of the new Krewes to make contacts, sign deals, and exchange information

The old Bourbon aristocracy long ago made their deal with Northern industrialists, agreeing to assist in the plunder of the people and resources of the Black Belt Nation, in exchange for the removal of federal troops and the restoration of their feudal powers, if not outright slavery Due primarily to the success of national liberation struggles around the world, such as the victory in Cambodia and Vietnam, these Southern and Northern imperialists, working together, have been confronted with a shrinkage of world markets Faced with a general, all-around economic, political and military crisis of huge consequence, they are seeking to retain their power and historically have two solutions

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STALIN con't

letariat In this way, women can become not a reserve army of the working class, but a part of the army of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie This task holds true today, as the special oppression of women still exists, the need for women to engage in socialized production is yet unfulfilled, and it is still the task of the working class and its party to organize women as fighters for the cause of socialism

Comrade Stalin stressed the absolute necessity of cadre to master bolshevism In PROBLEMS OF LENINISM, Stalin pointed out that the higher the level and the Marxist-Leninist knowledge of the cadre the better and more fruitful the work of the party would be This training should make the cadre able to find their bearings in the internal and international situation and be able to see beyond the day to day work to the aims of the working class movement If a party is successful in this training, and cadre are capable of solving problems involved in the guidance of the country without any serious error, then, Stalin tells us, 9/10's of the practical problems could be considered solved

Of significant importance in this was Stalin's book HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION (BOSHEVIKS) (HCPSUB) This proved to be a major event in the ideological life of the party It became a guide to the fundamental ideas of Marxism-Leninism showing how to apply and develop them in the course of struggling for socialism This book was not only useful to the Russian working class movement It remains an important work in the working class movement today It is for this reason that we have taken up the study of the HCPSU(B) in this paper (see p 8-9) The question of the training of cadre is of extreme importance to the working class in the United States today, as we proceed in our task of building a revolutionary Communist Party For it is only if the cadre are trained ideologically and steeled politically that the party will be capable of leading the working class in its struggle against the bourgeoisie and on to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat

In the Soviet Union, after the death of Stalin, a revisionist clique came to power headed by Khrushchev In order to carry out the all round restoration of capitalism, these revisionists needed to camouflage their treachery under the slogan of "creative Marxism" To this end they claimed that the main danger in the Soviet Union was dogmatism and sectarianism But to succeed in this the revisionists needed to remove from the minds of the people the great contributions of Stalin A full fledged, vicious campaign was launched against the so-called "cult of the individual" In the course of this campaign many loyal party cadre were purged and in their place enemies of Communism were put This campaign was carried out with the support of the world's Trotskskyists and capitalists This campaign, although forceful to the extent that vast numbers of the worlds peoples now think of Stalin as a Hitler, was not complete enough For now,even the revisionists feel obligated to speak of a reappraisal of Stalin This does not come from any regret on their parts, but is forced upon them by the peoples of the Soviet Union and the people of the world who recognize the link between the campaign against Stalin and the revisionist betrayal of the cause of socialism And this discontent will continue to grow until the Soviet Union returns to the glorious path of Lenin and Stalin



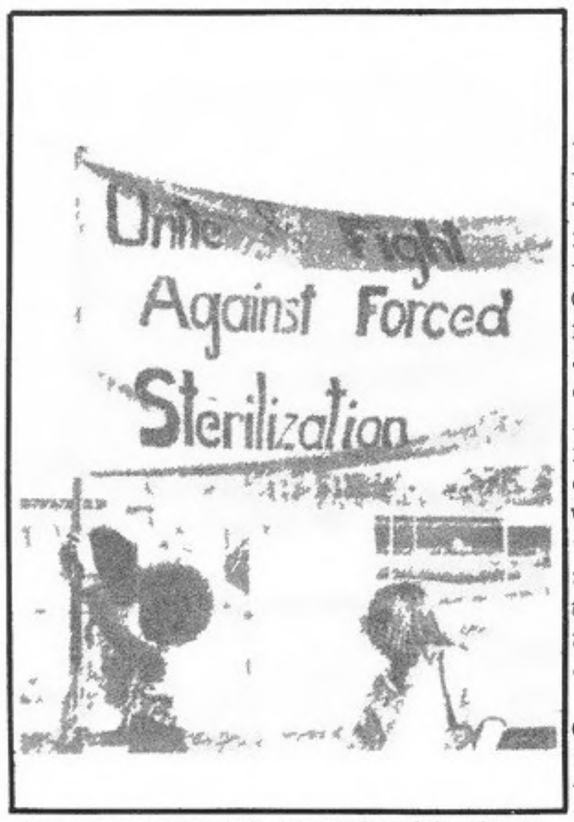
STERILIZATION — AN ATTACK ON THE WORKING CLASS

A report recently issued by the General Accounting Office disclosed that 3400 American Indians were sterilized between 1973 and 1976 Of those sterilized, 3100 were women between the ages of 15 and 44 years, 36 were women under the age of 21 (despite a court-ordered moratorium forbidding sterilizations on people under the age of 21), 142 were men The report covered only 4 of the 12 Indian Health Service areas and government officals state the total number of American Indians sterilized is probably much higher The consent forms authorizing the sterilizations were not in compliance with the minimal federal regulations and gave no indication of whether the patients had been informed of their right to refuse sterilization

This latest revelation is one of a long list of sterilization abuses that point to a massive campaign of sterilization that the bourgeoisie has launched against the working class and in particular, against national minorities and oppressed peoples

Since the early 1950's when John D Rockerfeller III hosted a conference on population control, sterilization and other forms of birth control have been used by the U S ruling class to control "surplus" populations nationally and internationally *1/3 of the women of childbearing age in Puerto Rico - a colony of the U S - have been sterilized In N Y City municipal hospitals there was a 180% rise in the number of sterilizations in 1972-1973 - 99% of "elective" hysterectomies were done on Black and Puerto Rican women In the Black Belt, two Black women aged 12 and 14 were sterilized after their mother had been informed they would be recieving temporary birth control shots On investigation, nine similar cases were found in the same clinic In Los Angeles County General Hospital the number of hysterectomies performed between 1968 and 1970 increased 742% - this hospital serves mostly Chicano peoples*

Most women who are sterilized do not make this decision freely Women in labor have been denied medication unless they sign consent forms, women have been told their welfare benefits would be cut, women have signed consent forms just prior to and immediately after childbirth and while under sedation, undocumented workers have been threatened with deportation The list of abuses goes on and on and includes many women who are not even informed that a sterilization procedure has been performed But beyond the obvious coercion is the economic pressure a working class family feels when a child would mean the woman's inability to work due to lack of childcare Other forms of birth control are expensive or unavailable, and often dangerous to use Sterilizations are often free and pre-natal care often runs over $1,000 *Capitalism offers sterilization to permanently limit the size of working class families, as the only alternative*



are operating at considerably less than full capacity, milk has been poured into sewers, grain is rotting in storage bins, and 10 million workers are out on the streets looking for work

CAPITALISM USES STERILIZATION AS A WAY OUT OF ITS CRISIS

In order to understand the increase in the use of sterilization it is necessary to look at the particular conditions of the general crisis of capitalism which make it necessary for the bourgeoisie to limit the growth of the working class and especially the growth of the most oppressed sectors Chronic mass unemployment is a permanent feature of decaying capitalism, due to technical advances in production and a sharply decreased market at home and abroad for U S goods The bourgeoisie explains unemployment and poverty by promoting the myth that all the mills, plants and factories cannot meet the needs of the increasing population They say the way to combat poverty is is to limit the number of people *But the reality is that factories*

CAPITALISM BLAMES UNEMPLOYMENT AND POVERTY ON NATIONAL MINORITIES

The workers do not sit idly by when massive layoffs and inflation mean they must tighten their belt in order that the capitalists can get fatter Increasing strikes and militant opposition to the worsening economic conditions of the class make it mandatory that the capitalists disrupt the growing class unity that threatens to destroy the very system of capitalism itself Capitalism seeks to split the class and its allies, the oppressed nations, by pitting white workers against national minorities, national minorities against other national minorities, men against women

The oppressed nations and national minorities are the most oppressed section of the working class Capitalism tries to blame poverty, unemployment, and overpopulation on the people of oppressed nations and national minorities It is not a coincidence that national minorities and oppressed peoples are especially singled out for sterilization

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONTROL BY THE WORKING CLASS IS THE ONLY ANSWER

One has only to look at the Peoples Republic of China, whose population is 800 million, to clearly understand how poverty of the masses is only alleviated with the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat Before the revolution, the masses of the Chinese people were poor, undernourished and illiterate Year after year famine ravaged the country Today, despite a population that has doubled in size, there is no one in China who goes hungry and jobs are available to all who can work *The conditions of the Chinese masses changed because the resources of the country were put to use where they were needed in order to serve the needs of the people*

Birth control is practiced in China, but its nature is very different than that which is forced upon the working class in the U S In China, the national majority, the Han people are encouraged to have children later and to limit the size of their families The people composing China's 55 different national minorities are provided with birth control information and devices but are encouraged to have large families if they choose This is to help restore peoples who suffered severely from the effects of famine, war and exploitation before the revolution Throughout the country, the aim of birth control is not only to provide planned population growth but to promote the well being of women, to ensure that women can participate completely in the economic and political life of China At the same time, 24 hour childcare is available at most worksites and public dining rooms and laundries are being developed These conditions make it possible for men and women to make a free choice in the size of their families

Workers in the U S must demand an end to government's use of sterilization against the class This can be done by demanding 1) informed consent in a person's own language 48 hours prior to the operation, 2) all increases in Health, Education, and Welfare funding for sterilization be met by proportionately equal money for pre-natal care and delivery, and 3) research into safe, temporary forms of birth control for both men and women At the same time, demands should be put forward for jobs, child-care, decent medical care, housing The working class stands firm on the right to bear children ★



LITTLE TOKYO FIGHTS "REDEVELOPMENT"

On February 28, 1977, over 35 men, women, and children are scheduled to be evicted from the Sun Hotel in Los Angeles', Little Tokyo They have no place to move to This eviction is taking place to make room for 70 parking spaces for the luxurious New Otani Hotel

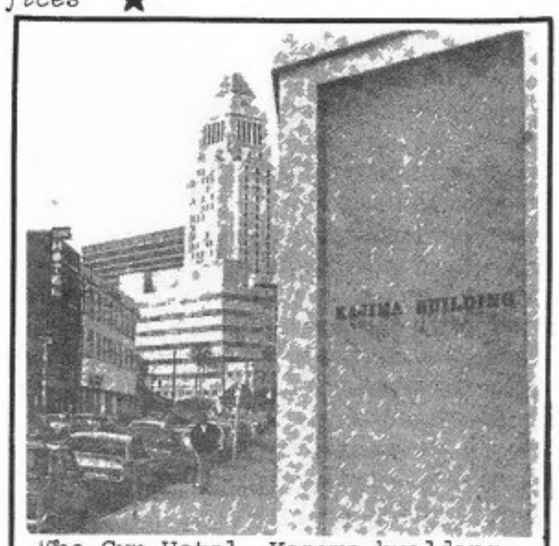
The Sun Hotel is one of many buildings which houses low income working people, small businesses, and community cultural groups in the Little Tokyo community All of them are scheduled to be torn down to make way for new expensive luxury hotels, a fancy tourist mall, and high rent offices This is what the city calls "redevelopment"

WHO BENEFITS FROM REDEVELOPMENT?

Obviously not the residents of Little Tokyo "Redevelopment" in general hits poor working class neighborhoods, usually non-white In Los Angeles there are several other "redevelopment" projects, for example Normandie 5, 83% Black, Pico Union, 67% Latino, Watts, 87% Black, Little Tokyo, 70% Asian, 14% Latino, and 9% Black *In every case, "redevelopment" has meant the destruction of low rent housing, replacing it with High Rises and business centers* In these communities, "redevelopment" has been another expression of their historic national oppression *It is clear that "redevelopment" is not for working people but for the multi-national corporations and their like* In Little Tokyo it is the Kajima and East West Corporations which are benefiting from "redevelopment" One example of this was when the City Redevelopment Agency (CRA) sold Kajima a piece of land for almost nothing then 6 months later bought it back, netting Kajima $220,000 in clear profit'

The CRA has shown time and again that they are not working in the interest of the people who live in Little Tokyo, but in behalf of such capitalist enterprises as the Kajima and East West corporations And in fact, the CRA has enlisted the help of the police and county Marshals to smooth the way for the redevelopment Michale Oh, the director of CRA, has announced that he "will not hesitate to use County Marshals to enforce the evictions" In addition, the CRA has used the threat of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to try and squash the resistance of Latinos

The residents and supporters of the Little Tokyo community will not be intimidated' They will resist This fight is one of many battles against national oppression that the multi-national working class must wage It is a fight for the democratic rights of oppressed nationalities and demands the support of all progressive people *It is time to let the capitalist class and its servants know that we are not going to sit idly by while they throw people out into the streets to make way for luxury hotels, shopping malls, and business offices* ★



'The Sun Hotel, Kajima building, and Los Angeles City Hall

UNITE' Photo

WE DEMAND LOW COST, QUALITY HOUSING'

END NATIONAL OPPRESSION'

FREE GARY TYLER!

The fight to integrate a public school in the sugar cane plantation country of Louisiana The Klu Klux Klan A cursing, rock-throwing angry mob attacking a schoolbus of Black children The shooting of a young white boy A mysterious gun with no fingerprints conveniently "found" after three searches of the schoolbus An "eyewitness" with a long history of psychological problems and lying The cry for vengeance A young Black student who "talks back" to white deputies

The scene is a familiar one and one that has been replayed throughout the Black Belt for over a hundred years This time the young Black man is *Gary Tyler* and the town is Destrehan, Louisiana, on the banks of the Mississippi River And *on January 24, 1977, the Louisiana Supreme Court, in a unanimous decision, upheld the conviction of Gary Tyler for first degree murder*

This latest ruling is but one more step in the two year old battle of the State of Louisiana to execute Gary Tyler The State has been forced to give up, momentarily, on efforts to electrocute Tyler, as the U S Supreme Court, in 1976, declared that Louisiana's mandatory death penalty was unconstitutional

However, the U S Supreme Court didn't outlaw executions. Far from it All the court ordered was that lynchings, firing squads and gas chambers should give the illusion of being "fair" This false front is supposed to justify the murder of hundreds and ultimately thousands of working and poor people who now wait on death rows around the country, or who soon will be there, if the state has its way

The U S Supreme Court also has tried to hide the fact that 43% of the prisioners on death rows in the U S are Black, that 57% of these death row prisioners are in the Southern states, and that of these in Louisiana, 47% are there for rape, which is a capital offense in the South, in reality , only for Black men

WIDESPREAD MOVEMENT GROWING

The Tyler case has provoked wide-spread reaction throughout the country, with thousands of people demonstrating, signing petitions, working on committees and donating hard earned money to the cause to free Gary Tyler

The Supreme Court of Louisiana, faced with this strong movement, took a united stand Although some of the so-called "liberals" on the court had some qualms about the obvious unfairness of Tyler's trial, all 7 judges agreed to affirm the conviction They found "unpersuasive" the fact that the state's star "eyewitness", the only witness to say that Gary fired a gun, has since recanted her testimony and has testified that the state threatened, intimidated and drugged her in order to get her to lie

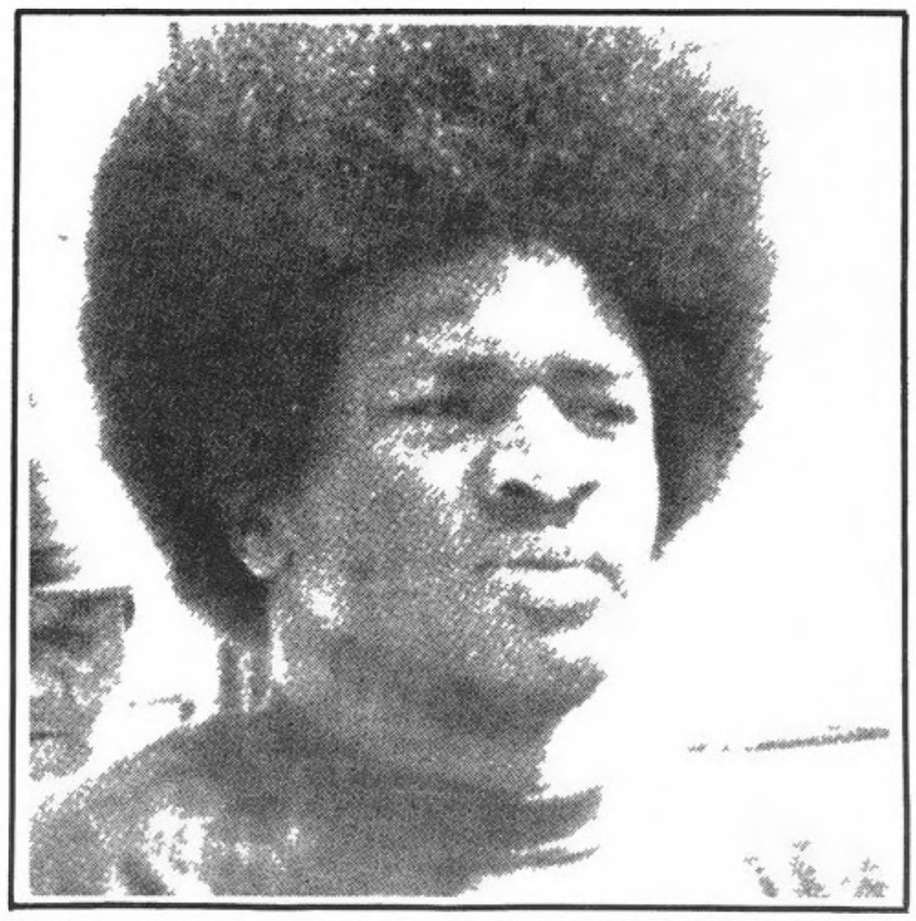
Unable to electrocute Gary at this time, the Louisiana Supreme Court refused to give him a new trial, as demanded Instead, they designed, from thin air, a *new penalty*, one which they made up some two years after the incident

Gary Tyler, now 18 years old, is to be sentenced to spend the rest of his life in Angola prison at hard labor He will not be even eligible for probation, parole or suspension of sentence for 20 years

STATE PROTECTS IMPERIALISTS

The message of the state is clear, and it's the message of hundreds of years After the Civil War, as Blacks struggled to claim the land their slave labor had plowed, planted, picked and enriched, the Southern plantation owners made a deal with the victorious Northern industrialists and bankers The North would have control of the rich agricultural and mineral resources of the South, for the exploitation and export to Northern factories The Southern aristocrats (the Bourbons) would sieze the land and rule over the Blacks and poor whites, by any means necessary This same period (post Civil War and Reconstruction) saw the merger of the Northern banks and industries, to form huge monopolies, and the beginning of the age of imperialism In much the same way as the Black Nation was taken over by these interests, nations and countries all over the world were invaded and their resources and labor grossly exploited

In order to maintain their rule, the Southern big landowners devised "theories" of Black inferiority, set up "Jim Crow" laws ("separate but equal") and supported the terroristic night rides of the Klu Klux Klan *Through open, brutal fascist terror, the KKK, who were often local deputies, judges, assessors, etc as well as other agents of the wealthy landlords, sought to steal back the land from liberated slaves* Lynchings, maimings, the rape of Black women and children, were all designed to try to frighten the Black masses into submission Throughout these vicious attacks, however, Black people, often supported by poor white sharecroppers, fought back courageously The refusal of the federal government to help in any way (and in fact the federal government co-operated and condoned the plantation tyranny) proved to



Black people and poor white farmers and sharecroppers, that *real equality and freedom would only come through the struggles of the masses of people for genuine revolutionary change* Misleaders in the Black community have tried during the past 100 years to stem this revolutionary tide, calling for reliance on the federal government and legal reforms But the opportunism of these so-called leaders has been consistently exposed, and the demand for genuine freedom for the Black Nation grows stronger and stronger

It is clear that the bourgeoisie recognizes the significance of Gary Tyler's case They wish to keep Gary locked up, brutalized, to serve as an example and a warning to all people fighting for democratic rights They seek to intimidate and frighten us into submission, to stifle our call for freedom and for self-determination for the Black Nation up to and including secession

But as Juanita Tyler, Gary's mother, said "We're gonna keep on fighting " Our work will continue until all the Gary Tyler's and Joan Little's who now fill the prisons and county jails of the Black Belt Nation, are free and until this nation has the right to determine its destiny as a nation and as a people

For further information about Gary Tyler's case and what you can do to fight for his freedom, contact the Gary Tyler Defence Fund, 200 Medallion Tower, 344 Camp St , New Orleans, La or call 1-504-568-9890

HAWAIIANS FIGHT LAND SEIZURES

On January 3, 1977, the state of Hawaii served eviction notices to small farmers and workers living in Waiahole Valley on the island of Oahu The residents, who have been fighting against and preparing for this day for three years, burned their court orders on the spot while hundreds of supporters cheered them on Residents then prepared for the police invasion by organizing supporters, who camped in the valley, for quick defense action

The following night, at about 11 p m , the people got wind of a police convoy heading out toward the valley Within minutes, 200 people came out and blocked Kam highway ½ mile on both sides of the valley with 25 cars

For over an hour and a half, the people's roadblock remained enforced Official word then came that there would be no invasion by the police that night and the roadblock was then lifted.



Demonstrators block the Waiahole Valley Road

REFORMISTS ATTEMPT INTERVENTION

The Waiahole-Waikane Community Association (WWCA) over the years has built a wide-spread mass support and has consistently supported many other struggles of working and oppressed people As a result of the action taken, the Council of Hawaiian Organizations (a coalition of native Hawaiian organizations interested in making peace at all costs) intervened, along with the Governor, who then "negotiated" a postponement of the evictions with the landlord Mrs Elizabeth Marks

TACTICAL SUCCESS

The WWCA views the delay as a success because it will allow even broader support to be generated The demands of the struggle are long term leases at reasonable rents, housing that the people can afford and the preservation of agricultural lands This is opposed to the month to month leases, the recent raising of rents (some more than 700%), and the move of the capitalists to convert prime agricultural land to housing developments for the wealthy and tourist industry In Hawaii, about 92% of all the land is owned by about 72 major landowners, including the State and Federal governments

Most of the people have lived on the land in the valleys for generations and have frankly stated that they would rather die than have to leave This signals their determination to "Stay and Fight'"

The danger of the reformists' intervention is real and can have an "it's going to be all taken care of" effect on the struggle But the people have been waging struggle in all arenas and have learned the lessons well

The burning of the eviction orders serves notice to the government and the monopoly landowners, that the people have grasped the bankruptcy of the state and know that it serve and preserves the property rights of the bourgeoisie

STOP ALL EVICTIONS NOW'

LEGAL LYNCHING IN GEORGIA

In Terrell County, Georgia Roosevelt Watson and four other Black youths are charged with the murder of Gordon Howell, a 60 year old farm foreman None of the accused knew Howell

About one year ago, Tiny Denton, the owner of a small store in Terrell County, reported that four Black men entered his store, went to the back, put on ski masks, took his 25 caliber pistol and another gun, and robbed the store During the robbery they supposedly shot Howell and drove off in his pickup truck

Initially Tiny told the police and the Georgia Bureau of Investigation that he did not recognize any of the men Some time later, when the "focus" of the investigation begin to point to Tiny, he suddenly identified Roosevelt and the others

After intimidating Roosevelt into a "confession", the police returned him to Terrell County where, in January, 1976, threatened with castration, he was forced to search the cold waters of a swamp for the murder weapons while stripped naked No guns were found and Roosevelt was returned to jail

Roosevelt is now out on $100,000 bail, while the others cannot raise this high of bond Tiny Denton knew all five youths, as they had credit accounts at his store, and he had given them all beer as a Christmas present before the incident happened

The "Team Defense Project", a branch of the Southern Poverty Law Center is now mainly handling the case Judge Walter Geer has refused to set a trial date or to hear motions of the defense, even though the death penalty is being asked for The NAACP has offered no support, as they don't enter "straight murder" cases

This is one more example of the use of the tactic of "legal lynching" used by the most reactionary elements in the black belt South National oppression has created a situation in which Black youths pay for the crimes of others no matter what the facts all point to

COKE

cont from p 6

coke workers themselves, but of the surrounding community as well

THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE CANNOT PROVIDE INDEPENDENT LEADERSHIP

Very probably, C O K E actua had very little effect on the outcome of the November hearing The big bourgeoisie, represented by the capitalist state (the E P A and other agencies) has decided that it is necessary to moderate some of the worst aspects of health and environment damage caused by its own big industry In this case, that aim is parallel with the aim of the workers, and in fact the bourgeoisie has adopted that aim largely because of the militant struggles of the workers over the years for better working conditions Likewise, the "environmentalists" who were at the hearing in support of the clean-up agreement, who represent mainly students, professionals, and other petty-bourgeoisie elements, had little effect on the agreement in the final analysis

But both these wings of the petty-bourgeoisie, especially C O K E , showed an organizational potential, an ability to mobilize masses of people, even if only on a one-shot basis, that demonstrates that they are a force not to be ignored by the working class

THE WORKING CLASS NEEDS ITS OWN INDEPENDENT LEADERSHIP AND PROGRAM

The working class needs its own political leadership, a communist party, to express its needs and lead its struggles, and to educate the workers about the relationships among all classes in capitalist society In its revolutionary struggle for its own emancipation from capital the working class will need to win the support of large sections of the petty bourgeoisie, on the basis of common oppression by the common enemy

At the same time, the working class has to neutralize the reactionary urges of the petty bourgeoisie Both these tasks will mean learning to understand why the petty bourgeoisie sometimes takes up struggle against the big bourgeoisie, how it attempts to distort the struggles of the workers to fit its own needs, and learning exactly when, where, and why the aims of the petty bourgeoisie are in accord with or in contradiction to the aims of the working class

THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASS MUST BE THE ACT OF THE WORKERS THEMSELVES'

BUILD THE INDEPENDENT REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS, A COMMUNIST PARTY'

MARDI GRAS

(1) open up new markets, which in a world already divided up among imperialist powers means war for re-division, and (2) intensify and expand the exploitation of already conquered territories, such as the nation in the Black Belt South *The so-called "democratization of Mardi Gras" which the bourgeois press has been promoting, is actually no more than the results of the efforts of the newly rich bourgeoisie to encourage and participate in the superprofits of a new wave of invasions of the Black Belt Nation* There is no expanded democracy of Mardi Gras to the masses of people The only difference is that the masses can now beg for throws from movie stars such as Telly Savalas and "The Fonz" instead of just from the old local aristocrats

MARDI GRAS AND THE KLU KLUX KLAN DIFFERENT MASKS, SAME FACES

The oppression of Black people in the Black Belt nation can be seen in sharp relief during Mardi Gras In the late 1800's, when the Mardi Gras began to be celebrated on a large public scale, the Southern landowners were seeking to reinstitute their control over the emerging Black Belt Nation Basic democratic rights, such as the right to vote, to own land, to travel and to join trade unions, were ruthlessly suppressed as the old plantations were reestablished, land was seized from former slaves, and the rule of the Southern aristocrats was returned in full By night the Klu Klux Klan would ride the countryside, lynching, burning and maiming, in order to defeat the resistance of the people Black and white solidarity was seen as especially dangerous and racist ideology was promoted by the bourgeoisie in order to divide the Black masses from the natural alliance of the poor white farmers and white workers

In southern Louisiana Mardi Gras developed as a particular form of maintaining bourgeois control In 1872 the first Krewe of Comus paraded, with its theme a vicious and insulting portrayal of Reconstruction and radicalism *Mardi Gras was clearly designed as a parade of power of the "divine right" of the bourgeoisie to rule The KKK rode masked at night The Mardi Gras' royalty rode masked by day* The KKK was the "stick" to threaten submission to bourgeois rule, while the Mardi Gras was the "carrot" seeking to coax submission Both the KKK and Mardi Gras became active at the same time, were shrouded in secrecy and were promoted and supported by the same white ruling class, Protestant and Catholic *And today, in 1977, the bourgeoisie is actively seeking to promote and expand both the KKK and Mardi Gras, as they become more desperate to maintain their rule* Even though some of the more blatant forms of slave and feudal rule are no longer obvious in the Black Belt Nation, it is clear that the remnants of these old feudal relations and feudal customs are preserved by the bourgeoisie

MARDI GRAS AND SEGREGATION

Another aspect of Mardi Gras celebrations in the suppression of the Black Nation, is the racial segregation of the holiday Many small towns in southern Louisiana celebrate Mardi Gras', New Orleans' celebration being the biggest and most famous In these towns, such as Mamou, Opelousas, and Lafayette, historically there are two Mardi Gras a white one and a Black one In the larger towns there are two parades, one going through the Black section and the other through the white section of town In the smaller towns, the parades will go together, with the white parade going first, each having their own kings, queens, floats, bands, etc Although these parades are modest in comparison to New Orleans', the white parade is always larger, more expensive and more elaborate than the Black parade which follows it

In 1909 in New Orleans, a Black krewe called "Zulu" appeared for the first time Originally Zulu was a parody of Rex, the King of the Mardi Gras Where Rex arrived by yacht at the foot of Canal Street, Zulu arrived by skiff Where Rex proceeded with pomp and arrogance on a parade route established for years, Zulu would wander drunkenly all over the city, making up its route as it went along Where Rex threw royal doubloons to the masses, Zulu threw coconuts Over the years, however, as Zulu developed, the parody was less of Rex and more of Black Africans Today the king of Zulu wears a grass skirt and portrays cannibals in the jungle Only a few years ago, under pressure from the Black liberation movement, did Zulu quit wearing white-painted faces, a kind of reverse Al Jolson make-up Because of this racist portrayal of Black people, Zulu has come under increasing attack from Black workers and students The white ruling class and its friends among the Black bourgeoisie support Zulu, charge that the opponents of Zulu have no sense of humor, that Zulu is amusing, entertaining and good fun in much the same way the old t v show of "Amos and Andy" was "funny" *One of the most important reasons why the ruling class supports Zulu is because it can be used to segregate Black participants, ridicule Black Africa, and still be held up as an example of how "democratic" Mardi Gras is, in response to charges of racism and bourgeois decadence of Mardi Gras*

MARDI GRAS AND THE SPECIAL OPPRESSION OF WOMEN IN THE BLACK BELT NATION

One important function of the Mardi Gras season is the presentation of the debutante daughters of the aristocracy to "polite society" for the purpose of making a match This custom is carried down from the old feudal practice of merging two families' political and economic power through marriage of their children This transaction was and is very significant to a ruling class which is dying out, as it strives to continue its rule

In New Orleans there are also Black debutantes, presented to Black society However, the origins of this custom lie not in the feudal customs of the ruling class, but in slavery In the 18th and 19th centuries the terms "quadroons" and "octaroons" became used to describe people who had either 1/4 or 1/8 Black blood, usually as a result of the rape of Black slave women The white bourgeoisie, upholding the supposed "superiority" of white blood, would attach higher prices to slaves, according to the lightness of their skins The "quadroon" balls were yearly events in which young quadroon or octaroon Black women were "presented" to white aristocratic men, to be chosen as mistresses. The taking of a quadroon or octaroon mistress was considered a "coming of age" for the male aristocrat, in much the same way that the presentation as a debutante marked the "coming of age" of the white female aristocrat The octaroon women so chosen were taken away from their families and established in houses kept by the ruling class for this purpose, where they were to be available for the sexual pleasure of the master and his friends

The bourgeois women are not oppressed by being debutantes This is an important custom which they encourage in order to maintain the rule of their class, and protect their inheritances and property However, the ideology of debuts and forced marriages is a reflection of feudal and slave attitudes towards women which the bourgeoisie actively spreads among the masses of people These poisonous ideas have been used to justify excluding southern women from participation in industry, the perpetuation of chauvinistic views of white southern working class women, and the rape of black women by white men It is no accident that the backwards custom of debutantes is promoted and thrives in the Black Belt Nation on a scale much grander than anywhere else in the USA

MARDI GRAS AND THE FALL OF THE BOURGEOISIE

It is clear that Mardi Gras is not the "greatest free show on earth" that the bourgeoisie portrays it to be At the heart of Mardi Gras are backward , feudal customs which are part of the ideology the bourgeoisie spreads in order to attempt to maintain its rule It is also a "circus" which the bourgeoisie presents in southern Louisiana to try to deflect the rising resistance and organization of the masses of people of the Black Belt Nation It is apparent that despite bigger and fancier parades, giant rock shows in the Super-Dome, and dozens of movie and t v stars, that the bourgeoisie's more intense and desperate efforts to stifle the demand for freedom are failing Throughout southern Louisiana the masses of people, Black and white, are organizing trade unions, fighting right-to-work laws, opposing the KKK, and turning away from the revelry of Mardi Gras to the struggle for democratic rights and for the right to self-determination up to and including secession The attempt of the ruling class to save its rotten system by the continued and expanded exploitation of the Black Belt Nation will not succeed and no amount of frenzy or extravaganza at Mardi Gras can prevent their eventual overthrow

Czechoslovak Charter 77 — the full text

THE CZECH authorities have now declared Charter 77 to be il legal This is the manifesto which calls for more freedom in Czechoslovakia and catalogues violations of human rights conventions signed by the Czech government

Charter 77 has not been published inside Czechoslovakia But Czech officials have conducted a vigorous campaign of harass ment and vilification against its leading signatories and four of them are now under arrest

In the West the campaign against the signatories has been widely condemned and most of the Communist parties of Western Europe have declared their solidarity with them Here is the full text of Charter 77 The translation is taken from the US magazine the New Leader

LAW NO 120 of the Czechoslovak Collection of Laws published on Oc tober 13 1976 includes the text of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights both signed on behalf of our republic in 1968 and confirmed at the 1975 Helsinki Conference These pacts went into effect in our country on March 23 1976 since that date our citizens have had the right and the state has had the duty to abide by them

The freedoms guaranteed to in dividuals by the two documents are important assets of civilisation They have been the goals of campaigns by many progressive people in the past and their enactment can significantly contribute to a humane development of our society We welcome the fact that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has agreed to enter into these covenants

Their publication however is at the same time an urgent reminder of the many fundamental human rights that regrettably exist in our country only on paper The right of free expression guaranteed by Article 19 of the first pact for example is quite illusory Tens of thousands of citizens have been prevented from working in their professions for the sole reason that their views differ from the official ones They have been the frequent targets of various forms of discrimina tion and chicanery on the part of the authorities or social organisations they have been denied any opportuni ty to defend themselves and are prac tically the victims of apartheid Hun dreds of thousands of other citizens have been denied the freedom from fear cited in the preamble to the first pact they live in constant peril of los ing their jobs or other benefits if they express their opinions

Contrary to Article 13 of the second pact guaranteeing the right to educa tion many young people are prevented from pursuing higher education because of their views or even because of their parents views Countless citizens worry that if they declare their convictions they themselves or their children will be deprived of an education

Exercising the right to seek receive and impart information regardless of frontiers and of whether it is oral written or printed or im parted through art — Point 2 Article 13 of the first pact — can result in persecution not only outside the court but also inside Frequently this occurs under the pretext of a criminal indict ment (as evidenced among other in stances by the recent trial of young musicians)

Freedom of speech is suppressed by the government s management of all mass media including the publishing and cultural institutions No political philosophical scientific or artistic work that deviates in the slightest from the narrow framework of official ideology or aesthetics is permitted to be produced Public criticism of social conditions is prohibited Public defence against false and defamatory charges by official propaganda organs is impossible despite the legal protec tion against attacks on one s reputa tion and honour unequivocally af forded by Article 17 of the first pact False accusations cannot be refuted and it is futile to attempt rectification or to seek legal redress Open discus sion of intellectual and cultural matters is out of the question Many scientific and cultural workers as well as other citizens have been dis criminated against simply because some years ago they legally published or openly articulated views condemn ed by the current political power

Religious freedom emphatically guaranteed by Article 18 of the first pact is systematically curbed with a despotic arbitrariness limits are im posed on the activities of priests who are constantly threatened with the revocation of government permission to perform their function persons who manifest their religious faith either by word or action lose their jobs or are made to suffer other repressions religious instruction in schools is sup pressed etc

A whole range of civil rights is severely restricted or completely sup pressed by the effective method of subordinating all institutions and organisations in the state to the political directives of the ruling par ty s apparatuses and the pronouncements of highly influential individuals Neither the constitution of the CSSR nor any of the country s other legal procedures regulate the contents form or application of such pronouncements which are frequent ly issued orally unbeknown to and beyond the control of the average citizen

Their authors are responsible only to themselves and their own hierarchy yet they have a decisive in fluence on the activity of the legislative as well as executive bodies of the state administration on the courts trade unions social organisations other political parties business factories schools and similar installations and their orders take precedence over the laws

If some organisations or citizens in the interpretation of their rights and duties become involved in a conflict with the directives they cannot turn to a neutral authority for none exists Consequently the right of assembly and the prohibition of its restraint stemming from Articles 21 and 22 of the first pact the right to participate in public affairs in Article 25 and the right to equality before the law in Ar ticle 26 — all have been seriously cur tailed

These conditions prevent working people from freely establishing labour and other organisations for the protec tion of their economic and social in terests and from freely using their right to strike as provided in Point 1 Article 8 of the second pact

Other civil rights including the vir tual banning of wilful interference with private life the family home and correspondence in Article 17 of the first pact are gravely cir cumscribed by the fact that the Interior Ministry employs various practices to control the daily existence of citizens — such as telephone tap ping and the surveillance of private homes watching mail shadowing in dividuals searching apartments and recruiting a network of informers from the ranks of the population (often by illegal intimidation or sometimes promises) etc

The ministry frequently interferes in the decisions of employers inspires discrimination by authorities and organisations influences the organs of justice and even supervises the propaganda campaigns of the mass media This activity is not regulated by laws it is covert so the citizen is unable to protect himself against it

In the cases of politically motivated persecution the organs of interroga tion and justice violate the rights of the defendants and their counsel con trary to Article 14 of the first pact as well as Czechoslovakia s own laws People thus sentenced to gaol are be ing treated in a manner that violates their human dignity impairs their health and attempts to break them morally

Point 2 Article 12 of the first pact guaranteeing the right to freely leave one s country is generally violated Under the pretext of protecting the state security contained in Point 3 departure is tied to various illegal con ditions Just as arbitrary are the procedures for issuing visas to foreign nationals many of whom are prevented from visiting Czechoslovakia because they had some official or friendly contact with persons who had been discriminated against in our country

Some citizens — privately at their places of work or through the media abroad (the only public forum available to them) — have drawn attention to these systematic violations of human rights and democratic freedoms and have demanded a remedy in specific cases But they have received no response or have themselves become the objects of investigation

The responsibility for the preserva tion of civil rights naturally rests with the state power But not on it alone Every individual bears a share of responsibility for the general con ditions in the country and therefore also for compliance with the enacted pacts which are as binding for the people as for the government

The feeling of this co responsibility the belief in the value of civic engage ment and the readiness to be engaged together with the need to seek a new and more effective expression gave us the idea of creating Charter 77 whose existence we publicly announce

Charter 77 is a free and informal and open association of people of various convictions religions and professions linked by the desire to work individually and collectively for respect for human and civil rights in Czechoslovakia and the world — the rights provided for in the enacted in ternational pacts in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference and in numerous other international documents against wars violence and social and mental oppression It represents a general declaration of human rights

Charter 77 is founded on the con cepts of solidarity and friendship of people who share a concern for the fate of ideals to which they have link ed their lives and work

Charter 77 is not an organisation it has no statutes permanent organs or registered membership Everyone who agrees with its idea and participates in its work and supports it belongs to it

Charter 77 is not intended to be a basis for opposition political activity Its desire is to serve the common in terest as have numerous similar organisations of civic initiative East and West It has no intention of in itiating its own programmes for political or social reforms or changes but it wants to lead in the sphere of its activity by means of a constructive dialogue with the political and state authorities — and particularly by drawing attention to various specific violations of civil and human rights by preparing their documentation by suggesting solutions by submitting various more general proposals aimed at furthering these rights and their guarantees by acting as a mediator in the event of conflict which might result in wrong doings etc

By its symbolic name Charter 77 stresses that it has been established on the threshold of what has been declared the year of political prisoners in the course of which a meeting in Belgrade is to review the progress — or the lack of it — achiev ed since the Helsinki Conference

As signatories of this declaration we designate Dr Jan Patocka Dr Vaclav Havel and Professor Jiri Hajek to act as spokesmen for Charter 77 These spokesmen are authorised to represent Charter 77 before the state and other organisations as well as before the public at home and throughout the world and they guarantee the authenticity of its documents by their signatures In us and other citizens who will join Charter 77 they will find their collaborators who will participate in the necessary negotiations who will accept partial tasks and will share the entire responsibility

We trust that Charter 77 will con tribute to making it possible for all citizens of Czechoslovakia to live and work as free people

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RESISTANCE GROWING IN REVISIONIST COUNTRIES

It has been over 8 years since the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union, and since then the Czechoslovakian government together wih the "new Tsars" in Russia, have used all means to suppress those who have opposed this occupation

In eastern European countries the crisis of capitalism is deepening, and the working class is being made to suffer the effects Prices have been rising, democratic rights have been restricted as the revisionist governments together with the revisionist Soviet Union try to squeeze ever greater profits from the people However, their task has not been easy, for as they increase prices and try to curb democratic rights they are being met with resistance

In Poland, last July, when the Polish government tried to raise food prices, the Polish working class struck back Workers held large scale strikes and slowdowns, threw up street barricades, disrupted communication The resistence of the Polish working class was so strong that the Polish ruling class backed down and withdrew the price hike During this, many were arrested, as a result of the continued resistance, the government, this February 4, was forced to grant a conditional pardon to some of those arrested Struggle is continuing to get the release for those remaining in prision

In Czechoslovakia, recently a group of citizens published "Charter 77" This charter expresses resentment against Soviet occupation and control of the country and also pledges determination to fight for political rights They charge that democratic rights such as freedom of speech, right to strike, right to organize in labor and other organizations that protect economic and social interests are denied The document also charges that the government employs wiretapping and other kinds of surveillance to watch over the people

The Soviet Union, as an imperialist superpower, is driven to establish hegemony over the world's people It is involved in sharp contention with the U S for new markets, but the world is already divided up Eventually this contention will lead to a redivision of the world through war The Soviet Union is in control of the Eastern European countries It is from the imperialist exploitation of these countries that the Soviet Union is able to draw great profits For example, recently, the Soviet Union, the monopoly supplier of oil to Eastern Europe,again raised the price of oil to these countries thus violating a previous agreement These countries will have to pay three times that of 1975 The Soviet Union forces on the people of these countries their concept of an "economic community" In reality, what this means is all for the Soviet Union and hardship for the other country For example, the Soviets used Polish workers, capital and equipment to build joint projects in the Soviet Union, thus making Poland to cut back on its own capital construction Also, because agricultural production is down in the Soviet Union, they have reduced food supplies to Poland, and yet demand increasing supplies of food from the Polish

However, where there is oppression there is resistance

The struggle for independence will not be halted The Polish workers strikes, and "Charter 77" are just two examples of growing resistence against the "new tsars" in the Soviet Union and their puppets in the governments of Eastern Europe It is certain that the working people in the Soviet Union as well as the working class in the Eastern European countries will continue in their revolutionary tradition and throw off their oppressors

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VICTORY TO AZANIA

On February 12th, in Atlanta, Georgia, David Siebeko spoke during the March for Freedom for South Africa He is the Director of Foreign Affairs and the U N observer for PAC (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania) He made one point clear to us *the common unity that the Azanian liberation fighters have with the American workers We have unity because we have a common enemy He pointed to U S imperialism as one of the Azanian people's enemies The multinational corporations that are exploiting the South African's labor and resources are the same capitalists that we are fighting in Atlanta*

The Revolutionary Student Brigade (the student organization of the Revolutionary Communist Party, U S A) played an important leadership role in this march But they failed to make clear what the Soviet Union is doing in Azania The Soviet Union is now a capitalist country, and is an imperialist force in Azania, competing with U S imperialism for Azanian labor and resources Not pointing this out is opportunism because it leads people in the wrong direction, in the direction of believing that the Soviet Union is still a socialist country

Workers in the U S need to be aware of both the Superpowers and their interference in Azania We must mobilize support for the Azanian liberation movement concretely Siebeko said that the liberation movement there needs money, food and clothing *But the most important thing that we can do to support their struggle is to see it as our common struggle and to organize to fight and overthrow U S imperialism from the inside*

LONG LIVE OUR UNITY'
FIGHT OUR COMMON ENEMIES'
VICTORY IS CERTAIN FOR THE AZANIAN PEOPLE'



COUNTRIES WANT INDEPENDENCE, NATIONS WANT LIBERATION, PEOPLE WANT REVOLUTION!

WORKERS' MOVEMENT

ITALY

On January 23, 1977, "Nuova Unita," organ of the Communist Party of Italy(ML), held a great revolutionary meeting in Rome Addressing the hundreds of participants were delegations from the Communist Party of Argentina(ML), the Communist Party of Brazil, the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, the Communist Party of Germany (ML), the Communist Party of Greece(ML) and the Communist Party of Spain(ML) Several Albanian publications, including Zeri i Popullit, of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania sent fraternal messages

This meeting represented one important expression of the deepening bonds between Marxist-Leninists worldwide, and the growing struggle against U S imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism

DENMARK

The struggle of the Danish working class is now moving forward under the leadership of the newly founded Communist Party of Denmark The party was founded following 8 long years of preparatory work by the former Marxist-Leninist League of Denmark

The Dansih Party stresses that democratic centralism must be based on the program of the party,"its fundamental law "



NETHERLANDS

Dutch workers have been carrying out the tactic of staggered work stoppages in protest of the capitalists' reneging on wages The Dutch capitalists refuse to provide even for the increses in the costs of living

As in other European countries, a social democratic government that claims to represent the workers has already turned to profit sharing schemes in at attempt to divert the struggle But the capitalists complain that there is too little profits to share as it is The response of the Dutch workers has been to continue to strike, most recently by bringing Rotterdam, the world's largest port to a virtual standstill

NATIONAL LIBERATION

ZIMBABWE

The Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe has begun an extensive build-up of its army against the Rhodesian settler regime

The regime has turned to the futile attempt of negotiating with other Black groups to establish a government that would remain at their beck and call

In the four military operational areas that include most of the country, the regime has imposed a dusk-to-dawn curfew It has made raids into Mozambique to the east and Botswana on the west, and forcibly uprooted Zimbabweans who live within 18 miles of the Botswana border

KOREA

The puppet government of Park Chung Hee in South Korea continues to imprison and torture Koreans whose only "crime" has been to call for reunification One such case, for which there is now a worldwide protest involves the two Soh Brothers

In April, 1971, Soh Sung and Soh Joon-Shik, Korean residents of Japan who had gone to South Korea as students were arrested by the Korean Counter Intelligence Corp Accused of spying, of manipulating the student movement, and attempting to overthrow Park, the brothers were initially sentenced to death and fifteen years, respectively The only evidence was a "confession" extracted by torture Because of protests by individuals from Japan, the sentenced were reduced in a 2nd trial to life imprisonment and 7 years

According to Park and his Korean CIA, it is their task to "convert" prisoners--by death if it comes to that But the Soh Brothers have remained firm In his Ground for Appeal Soh Sung states

"National Reunification is the sacred mission of our nation "

In an interview with Kanichi Nishimura, a member of the Japanese Diet(Parliament), in front of the Kwangju prison warden, Soh Joon-Shik courageously declared

"I have been tortured but even if they are ready to kill me, I will not sign a declaration of conversion I believe in communism and have a vision for the futrue "

(Save the Soh Brothers,No II Aug '76)
c/o Nishimura Makoto
645 Sarahiyal-cho, Shimogyo-ku
Kyoto, Japan



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SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

D P R K

At a February 8th meeting in celebration of the 29th anniversary of the founding of the Korean People's Army, Lt General Kim Ik Hyon called for the reunification of the country based upon the new PROPOSAL FOR NATIONAL SALVATION The proposal was made in January of this year by a joint meeting of democratic peoples, including leading elements of the South In agreement with the proposal, Kim said,

"The reunification of our country is after all an internal problem of our nation Therefore, it should be solved by the Korean people themselves in accordance with democratic principles and by independent and peaceful means "
(Hsinhua, Feb 9,1977)



VIETNAM

In December of 1976, the Vietnamese Workers' Party held its Fourth Congress in Hanoi At this first congress since the reunification of Vietnam, Le Duan, First Secretary of the Party presented the party's plans for an extensive expansion of agriculture and industry

The actions and inactions of the U S and its Theiu puppet regime in the South left the Vietnamese with many problems The puppet police, military, administrative, and ideological apparatus numbered more than 2 million There were also over 2 million illiterates in the South at the time of liberation

Summing up the work since reunification and the plans of the Fourth Party Congress Vietnamese President Ton Duc Thang has called on the Party, the people, and the army

"to devote all their energy to strengthen their unity, sharpen their vigilance and march forward valiantly and successfully to build a peaceful independent unified and socialist Vietnam and make a worthy contribution to the cause of world revolution "
(Hsinhua, Jan 1-3, 1977)

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(Vietnam Courier, Dec 1976) 25¢